

A STUDY OF WILLIAM CROCKER'S PHOTOGRAPHIC AND FILM ARCHIVE RELATING TO THE CANELA INDIANS OF BRAZIL

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Fabiola Iuvaro

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Sainsbury Research Unit for the Africa, Oceania & the Americas
School of Art History and World Art Studies
University of East Anglia

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Abstract

This doctoral research studies the anthropology of Dr. William Crocker and his recording enterprise, the Festival of Masks of the Canela groups of Maranhão state, Brazil.

Crocker began field research with the Canela in 1957 and continued to do so intermittently until 2011. Photography and film played a major part in his observation and his use of these media proved extremely innovative in ethnographic study. Until now, these recordings have been largely unexamined and academically undervalued, and the footage about the group's ceremonial life was almost unknown to anthropological and general audiences. The PhD is a detailed consideration of these important ethnographic data (footage, fields notes and photographs). This thesis is an analysis of his visual enterprise, discussing its relative neglect, the circumstances under which the images were taken, the ideas which informed them, and the general methods employed in making them. Later chapters use the visual materials to analyse the ethnographic content of the Festival of Masks ceremony.

The Festival of Masks is a complex ceremony that takes place over several days, in which the participants (or at least those who dance) disguise themselves with Masks. Begging, shame and compassion are the most important picture-like qualities of the Masks. The focus of my work traces Crocker's process of recording 'raw' photographs and footage about bodily-mask expressions and movements, in order to demonstrate that these images can be used as data to reassess Canela personhood. The thesis, firstly follows Crocker's attention on the Festival, then turns to how the Festival achieves the task of helping to construct personal 'selves' as part of a nexus of social relations. I argue that the ceremony presents an important way by which the Canela conceptualise the nature of being a human: the central importance of sharing in the formation of Canela personhood. The Festival of Masks can be seen as a model for how to live.

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Preface

My research begins with metal file drawers. A series of twenty of these contain more than 50 years of fieldwork among the Canela people undertaken by Dr. William Crocker, Curator for South American Ethnology in the Department of Anthropology of the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. This research is both an introduction to a remarkable collection and a reassessment of Crocker's collection of a particular and peculiar Festival of Masks, including those images that reside in the bottom drawers of his office. The images discussed were brought back from the field, North East Brazil, and filed in Crocker's collection at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History. While working on his archive at the Human Studies Film Archives (HSFA), over two months were spent looking at different visual sources. For almost a year, I read the anthropologist's work, viewing and analysing the film footage and photographs from his vast collection, spending hours every day going through his data, to find connections between the photographs that were not discussed or were frequently overlooked.¹ My interest in the collection has two distinct parts. Firstly, it lies in the remarkable and significant stories (some obvious, many hidden) embodied and inspired by every image that makes its way into Crocker's work. Through his visual practices, he leaves us a fruitful and emotionally and socially valuable documentation of the Canela sensibility in structuring their ceremonial experience during the Festival. In the ceaseless work to maintain and update his documentation, William Crocker took pains to record and photograph the Festival of Masks three times. These images will be viewed as, what Haidy Geismar has called elsewhere, 'visual histories' (Geismar 2006:558). The second is my delight in the challenge of capturing and revealing the visual connections, elements (often details) that help enrich every image's narrative. Through this research, several notable aspects were observed about this celebration: a fascinating story linked to recollections from the collective Canela memory concerning their founding father and their hero-figure, Awkhêê, and the tale about their experience with the non-Indians. The historical records of the anthropologist were also analysed while observing the social and affective states dramatised by the Masks during the performances. My work collects these data and examines Crocker's archival material and initiates a conversation to connect different times, objects and memories. The 'archival impulse' (Foster 2004) of this study helps to signify the urgent turn towards the questioning and reconstruction of past events and philosophies. This research is a product of the context, fieldwork experiences and the desire to piece together the fabric of imagination and storytelling that this archive of images can still reveal.

¹ Amerindian material culture is a passion that I have had since I started to work with Amerindian indigenous people in 2006, in Brazil, as an undergraduate and postgraduate student, and I continued intermittently until 2012 (I worked with the Arara, Surui and Bororo communities, between 2006 and 2007 and with the Terena and Kadiweu, between 2009 and 2012).

Chapter One: Introduction

“My images of you, or my many images of you in different situations, forms much of what I know about you” (Belting 2011:23).

Stories of objects are inevitably stories of people, embodiments of actions and experiences. This research pays attention to the values and meanings Canela people have given to materials and the manufacture of objects (Masks) in the past, as reflected and mediated through Dr. William Crocker’s photographs and footage.

The thesis is entitled *A Study of William Crocker’s Photographic and Film archive relating to the Canela Indians of Brazil* to indicate the project, the object/archive-focused approach combined with a geographical and temporal dimension. At the centre of the study is a section of Dr. William Crocker’s archive of images held at the Human Studies Film Archives and in his office managed by Barbara Watanabe, at the Smithsonian Institution.

Crocker began field research with the Canela (Gê-speaking Indians who live in the municipality of Barra do Corda in the centre of Maranhão state, Brazil) in 1957 and continued intermittently until 2011.² Importantly, he prepared extensive documentation, such as taking notes, tape recordings, photographing and filming the Canela way of life. By so doing so, he left us an impressive visual archive about the Canela encompassing virtually all aspects of their social and ceremonial life. Today these data are housed at the Smithsonian Institution and form one of the biggest photo collections of South-American native people at the National Museum of Natural History, (Washington D.C.).

However, to understand his visual enterprise one must start by asking why Crocker took the photographs and film. The images, including the Festival of Masks, did not constitute any part of Crocker’s official publications, as inscribed, even as confirmation of a collection of information well recorded. Overall, taking the photographs and filming particular festive occasions was not even mentioned by Crocker, except very briefly in the Introduction to his 1990 monograph.³ Yet conversely, from what has been published by the anthropologist, if one looks at both the structure of the ‘scientific’ nature of Crocker’s films and the structure of his archival photographs, it would be clear that his visual enterprise occupies an important aspect of his research. This thesis provides a description and analytical investigation of his archive documentation, in particular about the Canela Festival of Masks. It is especially focused on the period of his earlier fieldwork among the Canela between in 1957 and 1970 (when the Festival of Masks was recorded for the third and final time by him). The principal pieces selected to

² His last visit was in 2011.

³ Crocker, William. 1990. *The Canela (Eastern Timbira). An Ethnographic Introduction*: Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

represent the study of the Festival are two body-sized Masks and the associated visual archive material (written personal notes, photographs and film). These Masks were brought out for the Festival and played an important role in the ceremonial activity recorded by Crocker. Over the past century, the documentation about this collection and their associated literature has received limited attention, with only a small number of publications highlighting objects (masks) from the collection. One of the aims of this study is to begin the process of reinvigorating Crocker's Mask collection and its visual (photographic and film) archive in the Smithsonian, and thus to make it known to a wider audience.⁴

Recently, photography in anthropological studies can be seen through the work of Roland Barthes (1981), Christopher Pinney (1992), Elizabeth Edwards (2001), William MacDougall (2006) and Haidy Geismar (2006).⁵ Since the 1990s in fact, there has been increasing interest in studying such rich archival resources as the Mead-Bateson⁶ (Jacknis 1988) corpus and in using visual media for education in anthropology (e.g., Edwards 2001; MacDougall 2006; Geismar 2006; Belting 2011).⁷ These studies have brought to our attention the fact that vast archives of recorded footage, like Crocker's archive, have remained unseen and virtually untapped (Kula 1983). Sophisticated analysts of other societies profess ignorance and alarm when it comes to analysing the structure of an ethnographic film (e.g., work about Mead and Bateson's visual project in Bali, in Jacknis 1988:234). Yet, this ambiguity was one reason why photographs and footage have been marginalised, despite their promise to deliver a mass of 'raw' data (Edwards 2001).⁸ Elizabeth Edwards (2001) explores how photographs were a major

⁴ [Audiovisual archives:] 'Moving images shall be taken to mean any series of images recorded on a support (irrespective of the method of recording or of the nature of the support, such as film, tape, disc used in their initial or subsequent form of recording), with or without accompanying sound, which when projected impart an impression of motion and which are intended for communication or distribution to the public or are made for documentation purposes. Audiovisual documents are no less important, and in some contexts more important, than other kinds of documents or artefacts'. (Kofler, Birgit: *Legal questions facing audiovisual archives* Paris, UNESCO, 1991:10-13).

⁵ There is a large and established literature on the development of visual anthropology (Pinney 1992; Edwards 2001; MacDougall 2006; Henley 2013).

⁶ Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson's ambitious proposal for a team expedition to Bali (influenced by Haddon's Torres Strait Expedition to New Guinea; this is believed to be the earliest ethnographic film made in the field in New Guinea; see Jacknis 1988), and included still and motion photography.

⁷ This involves, as suggested by MacDougall (2006), "putting in temporary suspension anthropology's dominant orientation as a discipline of words and rethinking certain categories of anthropological knowledge in the light of understandings that may be accessible only by nonverbal means" (MacDougall 2006:225).

⁸ To anthropology the visual often seems uncommunicative and yet somehow insatiable, and - as MacDougall puts it: "like the tar baby, it never says anything, but there is always something more to be said. Words on the other hand, speak out and thus define their own terrain" (MacDougall 2006:219). Clifford (1989), says that the uncertain destiny of images in anthropological written works may well be put down in concert with a shift away from "evolutionary anthropology's omnivorous appetite for detail toward more holistic descriptions of culture" (Clifford 1989:56). The same threat of undisciplined interpretation may have been responsible for ethnographic

historical form for the 19th and 20th centuries, and writes, “we have hardly started to grasp what they are about, and how to deal with their rawness” (Edwards 2001:5). Overall, many anthropologists in the mid- 20th century feel caught between the possibility of conceptual advances from visual anthropology and the more conservative paradigms of a positivist scientific tradition (MacDougall 2006). The ‘material turn’ on the other hand, has nowadays shifted attention towards an understanding of how objects and visual archive documentation invigorate social relations (Edwards 2001; MacDougall 2006; Geismar 2006; Belting 2011). Exploring how objects accumulate meaning over time to reveal complex object-person relations (Santos-Granero 2009) has helped establish a broad cross-disciplinary approach to ‘biography’ in which objects can be seen both to constitute and generate relationships. In an article on the relationship between ethnographic filming and anthropological theory, for example, Paul Hockings (1988) noted the development of anthropological film archives in Europe and elsewhere as significant. It can also be argued that it is precisely the historical nature of much footage in these archives which now makes many of their collections relevant to ethnographic research (Wright 2003). This is related to the importance of Crocker’s images for anthropology; they are among the first moving images produced on the Canela and in particular, the collection from the Festival of Masks, which was documented three times, in 1960, 1964 and in 1970. This is very rare in the world of ethnographic film. The images contain some of Crocker’s most poignant reflections on Canela ceremonial life, not least because the historical footage contains images that are no longer “capturable” by contemporary filmmakers and their visual documentation. Crocker was not an historian attempting to reform the memory of Canela through archival evidence, although his archival documentation should pique the interest of anyone in the field.

This study aims to contribute to a growing body of academic work concerned to show that museum archives and their collections are not static samples divested of context (Thomas 1991; Larson 2007); but they are able to engage with multiple histories and agencies (e.g., Latour 2005; Gell 1998). In particular, the Canela collection of Masks can also be seen to invigorate relationships between people, objects and documentation. Analysis will show that, while almost all of these personal notes and collections remain unpublished - based on year after year of his fieldwork in the Canela community - they are testament to the intensity with which Crocker worked.⁹ Quite aware of the distinction between research (field) footage and edited films for public presentation, the anthropologist’s work left much analysis undone or unpublished. In this way, this study intends to shed light on this valuable collection and the practices from which it resulted. It demonstrates how considering under-studied archival

films of the same period developing primarily into illustrated lectures, in which a text provided the supporting framework for the images.

⁹ Crocker declares: “these associated publishable materials are primary field materials which constitute a source of data for potential publications in which collaboration with other specialists would be welcome under certain conditions and agreements” (Crocker 1990:23).

records now in the Smithsonian Institution can lead to new insights into (Canela) indigenous stories (mask tradition), and how Crocker's fieldwork and its resulting collections can be evaluated within anthropology and wider disciplinary histories. Anthropologists who create archives uncover the vulnerability of histories that are devoid of subjective voices. Objects are taken out of social context, re-create meanings, new impressions and narratives and reveal new stories (Foster 2004). Particularly, in photography the world becomes an archive of images, and as Hans Belting says "although, photographic images remain mute, remain of our transitory gaze, we animate them only when they bring back our own memories" (Belting 2011:148). Through the subjective lens of Crocker, my desire is to transform the silence of the archive material into the voices of 'memory making'.

1.1 A brief overview of Crocker's collection today

The approach of this thesis will mainly be explained in this Introduction, which summarises the main research questions and aims. This Chapter also presents an overview of the Canela people and the description of Crocker's Collection.

William Crocker's visual project led to a massive and detailed archival photo collection: (more than thirty thousand pictures and more than 146,000 ft of film footage), intermedia (verbal and visual, still motion pictures, tape recordings, plus a range of native artifacts) and collaborative work (during prolonged stays in the field with the Canela, Crocker asked cinematographer Steven Schechter to film between 1970 and 1979).¹⁰ The photo collection, housed at the Smithsonian, is a compelling and fascinating assemblage of material.¹¹ A discussion of all of these images is beyond the scope of this work.¹² But enmeshed in it is a collection of photographs and film that form part of Crocker's fieldwork corpus, which, in its entirety, is one of the most detailed and accurate sets of documents about Lowland South American masking in existence.¹³

¹⁰ Beside the material already mentioned Crocker writes that "there is a collection of 78,420 pages (written) and 708 hours (taped) of native diaries from which biographical, acculturative and psychological accounts could be developed. The second accumulation of primary data is 120 myths and war stories (taped and translated into backland Portuguese) from which pan-Gê comparisons could be made. Then there are 88 hours of taped political sessions (plaza meetings). There are also 72 taped hours, made from 16 mm film sound tracks, from which children's verbal materials could be analysed and interpreted for a better understanding of the socialisation process. Additionally, there are 140 hours of taped musical recordings from which analyses of singing could be structured and compared cross-culturally" (Crocker 1990: Preface xvi).

¹¹ Above all else, Crocker wrote in 1990 "all the primary materials collected in the field are available to qualified colleagues for research" (Crocker 1990: 35).

¹² Barbara Watanabe (museum specialist and Dr. Crocker's assistant) has helped build up Crocker's collection in the Archive at the National History Museum at the Smithsonian.

¹³ See for more details, Methodology discussed in Chapter Two.

Much information, namely the material relating to masks and the ceremonial aspect of them, is found in Crocker's films, photographs and personal field notes, which provides overall materials from which to begin a more comprehensive study of the Masks (see Methodology). The rolls of film about the Festival of Masks that I examined were shot by Crocker in 1960, 1964 and 1970. Stimulated by the rich ceremonial life of the Festival, the ceremony was filmed extensively in 1970 for the last time. Although the footage is not chronologically ordered, Crocker worked with a younger filmmaker, Ray Brown, during 1970 on the final preparation of more than two hours of unedited footage on the Festival of Masks, in collaboration with Smithsonian's National Human Studies Film Centre. For this research, still records (prints, Polaroids, and slides) have also been examined.

1.2 Research questions and aims

This thesis demonstrates how the systematic study of Crocker's records about the Festival of Masks will show an important Amerindian sociological perspective. Through the visual images, I am especially interested in how the Festival of Masks presents the central importance of sharing in the formation of a Canela person.

Crocker's archive of images (film and photograph) explores the Canela's complex ceremonial system to be constituted by a set of particular events, each of which belong to a symbolic complex that is sustained in myths, musical repertoires, dance and body paintings (Miller 2012). The Festivals contribute to the high social cohesion that is characteristic of the Canela sociocultural system (Crocker 1990). Masks are vital to this ritual system. The Festival of Masks is one of a seasonal sequence of Festivals in the Wè tè season. The 'Wè tè season' was the time for Festivals, also called 'Great Festivals,' that commenced in late March and ended in October. There were five great summer festivals in total. The Khee-tuwaye, Pepye, Pepkahak, and Fish festivals and the Festival of Masks (Crocker 1990:100). Each year the Canela decided which one of these Festivals would be performed in the community. Crocker notes that the Canela distinguished the life-cycle rites from these Festivals. The Festivals were put on by the Canela and involved the participation of the whole community in contrast to life-cycle rites, which were put on by an individual's kindred. The latter marked moments in the lives of individual Canela, such as birth, marriage and death, while the Festivals taught important Canela social roles (Crocker 1990:201). The 'Wè tè season' thus complemented and contrasted with the life-cycle rites. In relation to these other rites, the Great Festivals provided particular occasions of collective experience. They generally last a few months and they all have similar structural moments: an opening and a middle part lasting a few weeks with several interspersed ceremonial acts; a hunting phase (which provided and prepared meat for the terminal phase), and a terminal part lasting one to two weeks with great performances, in which considerable preparation and expense on the part of the principals are required and special performances by the designated male group (Crocker 1990:276). Greater elaboration on the Wè tè Festivals is unnecessary and beyond the scope of this work; my main focus will be to examine the Festival of Masks through Crocker's documents and visual archive.

According to Crocker (1990), “These men get inside the Masks which are composed of front and back mats. These mask users, while inside their Masks, look through vertical slits made in the front and centre part of the Masks called ‘faces’.¹⁴ (Figure 4.22). They use these slits to look through and see their way around the village as they walk or run around it. During the Festival, the Canela treat these moving Masks as little creatures who are more like children than adults” (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). They are begging (for food) all the time. Crocker states that this is their principal activity. “They approach an adult Canela and raise and lower their faces while uttering little grunts which constitute begging for food. (Figure 4.46). When refused (food), or when a person is hesitant, they fall to the ground, twirling, as if wilting, mainly expressing embarrassment and compassion” (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). (Figures 4.48 and 4.49). The script of the performance is always determined by these sets of repeated but limited number of bodily expressions from which the Masks make a constrained choice when gifts of food are not reciprocated by the villagers (Topic discussed in detail in Chapter Five).

These groups of photographs and images had a particular resonance and density for me. My analysis focuses on the unfolding of these Mask’s bodily expressions and movements as will be discussed in Chapters Four to Seven. The main argument is that, for the Canela, the Mask’s movements and physical expression of emotion, expresses not only an emotional performative state, but also, they have a key sociological significance. One of my central issues will be to show how the Canela manipulate a combination of physical attitudes during the ceremony, in order to decode particular behaviour-emotion-relationships. For instance, the posture of lowering the Mask’s head, expressing vulnerability and compassion when they face an inadequate behaviour, such as the refusal of food, I propose encapsulates values in Canela sociability. In effect, another way of describing the concept of compassion is by saying that people who express compassion generally practice love towards the person in need. Showing compassion “implies a moral value and a generous other-regarding mode of behaviour” (Kidd 2000:119; Belaunde 2000). Thus, we may consider the fact that the Canela maskers, while performing compassionate states and exhorting the Canela (the ones who, in the ritual dynamic of the Festival, demonstrate that they are ungenerous) to be generous are expressing ‘a way of living’ (Kidd 2000). Cultural values are then experienced and internalised by the Canela and ‘exteriorised in their physical embodiment’ during the Mask’s performance (e.g., Belaunde 2000:213; Londoño-Sulkin 2000; and Lagrou 2009). The theatrical performance can be seen to represent a ceremonial enactment of the Canela’s sharing values and generous mode of behaviour, which in turn are constitutive of the Canela sociality. These seemingly positive attributes of Canela life were based on emotional suppression and a fear of being accused of being stingy or antisocial among the group (Crocker 1990:185). This is one of the reasons why the Canela see avarice so negatively. In contrast to being stingy, generous attitudes,

¹⁴ Perhaps, the Masks are used only for this festival occasion.

performatively activated by the Masks through begging, generate movement and enthusiasm constituting a sociable and good society. Despite the overwhelming emphasis on the practices of begging as the 'main purpose of the Festival' (Crocker 2004:84), I propose that the archive of images indicates that the Festival of Masks also helped in the constitution of Canela people.

1.3 Contextualising Canela: lifeways, worldview and sociality

The Canela are Gê-speaking Indians who live in Barra do Corda in the centre of Maranhão state, Brazil. This is in a sandy Cerrado landscape, a region just east of the Amazon River watershed and just west of the dry northeast of Brazil (Figure 1.1). Historical records indicate that there were originally three tribes referred to as Canela, but the third of these groups, the Kenkateye, disbanded in 1913 following an attack by local ranchers who killed most of the adult males, leaving only the Ramkokamekra and Apanyekra groups (Greene and Crocker 2014). The smaller Apanyekra-Canela group numbered about 250 by the mid-1970s. They live in the village of Porquinhos, which is 50 kilometers west of the larger Canela village of Escalvado (Green and Crocker 2004). This study focuses on the larger group, the Ramkokamekra-Canela living in Escalvado.¹⁵ The geography of the intermediate zone where the Canela live lies between the tropical forests of Amazonia, the drought-stricken lands of the northeast, and the closed savannahs (cerrado) of the central highlands to the southwest (informally, chapada). The influential anthropologist, Curt Nimuendajú (1946:37) observed that the Canela and other Timbira tribes were especially adapted to their savannahs and stream-side gallery forest environments. Cerrado (Nimuendajú, 1946) is a general term (known as *chapada* or *campestre* locally) that describes a continuum of changing vegetation, ranging from semi-open grassy terrain to almost closed woodlands (Crocker 1990:23). Dry forests are the characteristic vegetation around the village of the Canela. The trees range from 15m to 30m tall, but farther north and west they can grow higher. The Cerrado contrasts sharply in climate and vegetation with the tropical forest (Miller 2016). There is a dry winter season of between three and five months with practically no rainfall. According to Crocker's historical documents, settlements in the cerrado were located near streams because of the need for water. The soil of the Canela area cerrado is unusually sandy and dry. Nancy Flowers (1994) posits that the peculiar features of the cerrado habitat have been considered important in explaining the contrast between the social elaboration of many central Brazilian societies with aggregation in large villages, and the Timbira groups' (like the Canela) subsistence technologies in which seasonal nomadism and wild food collection played a major role. Historical descriptions of the Timbira groups (Nimuendajú 1946; Crocker 1990), such as the Canela, indicate that they had a mixed economy, alternating seasonal agriculture with periods of nomadism (for hunting, fishing and gathering), each accompanied by its corresponding aspect of ceremonial life, in

¹⁵ Today with a population of over 2,100, the Ramkokamekra-Canela indigenous community resides in a legally demarcated territory of 125,212 hectares in the interior of Maranhão state in northeastern Brazil (Instituto - Socioambiental 2015). This analysis will take into consideration only data between 1957 to 1970.

which substantial quantities of food are shared (Miller 2016). It is no coincidence that the organisational complexity of the Canela finds expressions in ceremonials during the season of aggregation, where, in conjunction with their ceremonies (such as the Festival of Masks), a large amount of food (meat) was distributed throughout the entire village (Crocker 1990).¹⁶

The Canela consisted of approximately 400 people between 1960 and 1970 (Greene and Crocker 1994).¹⁷ Generally, Gê-speaking societies are known for their matrilineal residence patterns and circular villages (Crocker 1990; Miller 2012:100). The Canela's houses were built around a great circular path approximately 300m in diameter, including the small yards behind each house. A plaza of about 75m in diameter in the centre and, like radii of the circumference, trails lead from the central plaza to each house (Figures 3.1 (a, b, c). Behind most houses, from the same family, others were located forming a second row and, at times, more distant houses begin a third row (Crocker 2004). Crocker writes how in Canela society, an important institution is the bond that exists between female kin who live in an extended family. The anthropologist writes that the closest bonding among the Canela is the one between siblings, especially between sisters; "as brothers tend to go apart because they live with their wives in a different house or in adjacent houses along the village circle" (Crocker 2004: 58). Residence is uxorilocal, incorporating in-marrying men into the household. A woman with her sisters, mother, grandmother and daughters all live together in the village circle. Their cousins, descendants of the same ancestral woman in the female line (parallel cousins), live in adjacent houses along the circle of the village. If they are of the same generation, the Canela woman treats them as 'sisters'. This woman calls the mothers of her 'sisters', 'mother', and the daughters and sons of her 'sisters', 'daughters' and 'sons'. The arc of contiguous houses in which these women live is called a 'long-house' (Crocker 2004:56). According to Crocker (2004:56), the spatial division of the village formed by a circle of houses establishes an important network of kinship relations, which bonds the sector of adjacent houses, called 'long-houses', while the network of kinship across the circle bonds pairs of 'long-houses' for several generations. A woman's sons and brothers marry out of their 'long-house' and out of the house where their fathers, their mothers' fathers, and their fathers' fathers are from, in order to avoid incest. The sons and daughters of these men are cousins of the sons and daughters of their sisters, who stay in the house where they were born; more exactly, they are 'cross-cousins', since their fathers are opposite sex siblings (Crocker 2004:57). In this system of relations, a

¹⁶ By the mid-twentieth century, however, the Canela "began to live increasingly sedentary lifestyles in legally circumscribed lands. The modern-day twenty-first century Canela have become subsistence horticulturalists who maintain relatively larger plots" (Miller 2016:109).

¹⁷ These data are based (according to Greene and Crocker 1994) on the 1970 census, the first official one made among the group, as it was conducted for the Brazilian Government equivalent of the Census Bureau, the IBGE (Greene and Crocker 1994). Crocker reports that in 1970, in the village of Escalvado there were fifty-two houses. "When a Canela village grows to more than about 500 people and about sixty houses, the palm-straw houses (and some mud-and-wattle ones) stand so close in some sectors that new houses have to be placed behind old ones, slowly forming an outer circle" (Crocker 1990:59).

man or a woman calls his father's sister's son (who lives outside his 'long-house'), 'father'. In the same way, a man calls his mother's brother's son, 'son'. A woman calls her mother's brother's son, 'nephew', and his sister, 'niece'. Grand-mothers and grand-fathers are terminologically equated to father's sisters (aunts) and mother's brothers (uncles), respectively (Crocker 1990).

The political system of the Canela is formed of two parts (the chieftainship or *cacique* and the Council of Elders). The *cacique* controls most tribal matters but his actions are checked by the Council of Elders.¹⁸ The *cacique* governs the Council of Elders during the daily meetings in the centre of the village's circular plaza, selectively summarising their decisions which are reached by consensus. This planning often includes hunting in two different locations, harvesting on two separate family farms, or working on two parts of an access road or on keeping open the tribal boundary vistas through the cerrado (Crocker 1990: 212). The members of one age-group of the Council (the *Pro-khamma*) manage all ceremonial matters, they are responsible for choosing the Festivals that will be performed in the community.¹⁹ The special male group of the Festival of Masks was composed of the naming-uncles who passed their knowledge of how to perform the Festival to their nephews. Thus, uncles occupied an important social position within the group, for they ensured the ancient memory of how to construct the Festival and transmitted the knowledge to the youngest Mask performers (their nephews).²⁰

In earlier times, the Canela supported themselves more by hunting, gathering and even fishing than by agriculture (Nimuendajú 1946:57). But as noted by Crocker (1990), the degree to which they have taken on backland-oriented agriculture is a result of long-term change which occurred within the group. Traditionally, Canela would go on long hunting and gathering expeditions for months at a time, leaving their village and garden plots. When the garden crops were ready for harvest, the community would return to the village (cf. Maybury-Lewis 1967; Da Matta 1982). In the small galley-forests of their lands, riverside gardens used to be cleared with stone axes and burned. These traditional gardens produced less than 25% of the food consumed, while gathering, fishing and hunting supplied the rest. By the end of the 1830s, the relocation of the Canela to areas which represented about 5% of the lands that they used to

¹⁸ Crocker defines the distinction between 'Council of Elders and 'Elders' saying that "the Elders are not just the elderly men; they are the men who meet in the centre of the village called the plaza, a group that is composed of the three oldest age-groups. The Council of Elders comprises just one age-group, the dominant one that governs the Festival, awards honours, and balances the power of the chief or *cacique*. The Elders are an informal body, while the 'Council of Elders are like a senate'" (Crocker 2004:130).

¹⁹ The members of the *Pro-khamma* are men between 45 to 65 years old and dominate the Council of Elders for about 20 years (Crocker 1990). The anthropologist observed how sometimes it was hard to distinguish the roles of the *Pro-khamma* from those of the Council of Elders as a whole. "The individuals who form the *Pro-khamma*'s group sit among the Elders in general, and no formal distinction is made between them in the plaza" (Crocker 1990: 212).

²⁰ The uncles also are called *inquêt-ti* (the mother's brother) (Crocker 1990:96).

occupy, forced them to practice the system of swidden agriculture more extensively, following the regional model. In the Canela community, both women and men would usually perform complementary tasks, especially in their work on the farm. While the men would be occupied with clearing an area for planting, the women would be responsible for their farm gardens. According to the anthropologist, the nuclear families that live together in the village following the female kinship relationships, usually farm together in the same region of the native reservation (Crocker 1990:95-96). All women of 18 or above (whether married, single or with children) should work and maintain their own farms, producing bitter and sweet manioc, rice, corn, beans, yams, sweet potatoes and other garden crops (Crocker 1990), although the men will help if further assistance is needed.²¹ The garden products would then be harvested by the female kin and cooked in small earth ovens located in front of the houses. Once prepared, a woman would share their portion with their family members. The women would also be responsible cooperatively for raising their children and keeping the house organised. Women, on the other hand, would receive meat from their male kin. Contrary to garden products, meat preparation was centralised and controlled by the men, especially the elders. Once cooked the meat would be distributed, and, although the hunter and his kin were assured a healthy part of the kill, generosity was encouraged by the elders. Crocker argues that since meat is relatively scarce because the return on male activities such as hunting is uncertain, it was the women's responsibility to distribute it within the domestic unit. In such nucleated-units, Crocker (1990) posits that Canela harmony and social cohesion amongst its members was not reached automatically, but actively cultivated by each person in everyday practices. Generally, the organisation of food production and exchange was collective. For example, Crocker's archive of images, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, shows how people freely brought gifts of food to each other at any time of the day; neighbours worked side-by-side; heavy daily work was done communally with the help of large amounts of manioc and good humour (Crocker 2004). One soon realises that such community cohesion was not automatic, but actively "fostered by each person" (Belaunde 2000:213; Fisher 2000). As pointed out previously, the Canela constructed the relations of solidarity and trust on an ongoing daily basis, through the exchange of services, food and fun (Crocker 1990). For the anthropologist, the spirit of collective membership and collective responsibility was best defined by the constant passage of goods, particularly food. Precisely, he (Crocker 1990) conceptualised all these exchanges in terms of an important internal network of giving and sharing that defines the sense of Canela community. For example, clearing gardens or hunting as a group constrained people to enter into exchange relations with other groups for the supply of food that would make a complete diet. Interestingly, Crocker advocates that the system of begging, which the Masks dramatised, ensures a swift supply of foods coming into the village, whether from hunting or agriculture. His historical records indicate that the Canela (Timbira groups) were semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers "who most likely maintained small garden plots

²¹ For a discussion of Canela modern-day gardening practices see Miller (2016).

throughout the cerrado biome” (Miller 2016:109).²² As Flowers (1994) posits, the formation and maintenance of social ties for the exchange of information about the location of resources (and its distribution equally among the group) became particularly important by habitat, like the cerrado, characterised by ‘patchy spatial distribution of resources’ (Flowers 1994:258) and their temporal unpredictability.²³ It is not a coincidence that aggregation of ‘nomadic hunter-gathers’ into multiband groupings during certain seasons (and dispersal at others) was formed when some resources were seasonally concentrated (Posey 1994). These periods of concentration were characterised by more intense social interactions, economic cooperation (Steward 1976) and ceremonialism (Flowers 1994). Canela redistributive norms and sharing values were strictly sanctioned in the community, and this was done on the grounds that solidarity, namely the distribution of food, was the bond which ties all the members of the community together and enabled them to survive in the long run. We understand how, for example, food distribution served to even out the inherent variability and unpredictability of the food supply but it also had an important sociological aspect.²⁴ An interesting aspect of this food (meat) distribution among the Canela during periods of aggregation was that meat, which was freely given, had an important symbolic role that reinforced the solidarity of the community through ceremonial redistribution, such as during the Festival of Masks.²⁵ It is compelling, then, that this internal network of giving and sharing was expressed among the Canela by the institution of “begging” (*a-nd wi*: something-for ask, Crocker 1990:112) supported by a number of festival acts found in the Festival of Masks.

Much has been written by Crocker on how the practices of begging are consistent with the Canela’s greatest traditional quality, ‘their generosity’. Crocker states how “begging from each other is simply the other side of sharing” (Crocker 2004: 85). Sharing comes to be understood as the cornerstone of Canela sociability. The act of solidarity formed by these internal networks of social relations (asking/giving/sharing,) tended to be non-coercive and unconstricting. While one of the functions of the redistribution of food was done in order to redistribute wealth toward the needy, above all being generous was also indispensable to ensure the smooth working of community life (Crocker 2004). William Fisher who did research among another Gê-group,

²² Miller’s research among the Canela posits that nowadays, while hunting and gathering remain occasional subsistence activities: “gardening appears to be the primary way that contemporary Canela women and men interact with their Cerrado environment” (Miller 2016:109).

²³ Flowers citing an essay by Kurland and Beckerman (1976) points out that among the Timbira groups (likewise the Canela) “the more widely dispersed but more profitable a given food type, the greater will be the optimal size of the group of foragers who should look for and share it” (Beckerman 1976:135 quoted in Flowers 1994:254).

²⁴ cf Iuvare’s work about ‘trust, social networks and the informal economy among Central Brazilian indigenous groups: Terena and Kadiweu (2012:40-53).

²⁵ As Maybury-Lewis (1974) wrote “the Shavante, in common with other Gê-Timbira tribes [likewise the Canela], value meat and maize as the basis of all ceremonial prestations. Those cannot in theory be substituted by any other food of which they may happen to have a surplus” (Maybury-Lewis 1974 quotes in Flowers 1994:254).

the Xikrin, asserts, “if food circulates, it is not only the item that circulates. People perform acts for one another in exchange for food. Specialised knowledge circulates, as do names, rituals roles, and some special prerogatives, such as the right to specific cuts of meat” (Fisher 2000:123). Crocker’s work shows that Canela people pay considerable attention to each other’s feelings and their ‘psychological state’ or emotion. Each person strives systematically and publicly to make the other person ‘feel generous and happy.’ This highlights an important consideration. Achieving such a highly desired state of communal well-being in the Canela community, which Crocker describes as ‘living well’, is only possible if men and women, and especially ‘children’ (topic discussed in Chapter Six) learn to fear both their own and other people’s stinginess and are generous.

A close look at Crocker’s photographic documentation helps to reveal an important sociological logic in the Festival which is about begging procedures, which generates moods that are revealed through specific over-exaggerated expressions on the Masks, such as reflections of the various emotions and states of mind that an individual Canela goes through. It will become clear during my later discussion that the intense experience of emotions (e.g., generosity, compassion and shame), dramatised by the Masks and their movements during the Festival, are seen as central to Canela well-being. The available ethnographic literature on Gê-speaking indigenous societies has largely overlooked the Festival of Masks' activities and has often dismissed it as ‘unimportant’ (W. Crocker, interview, 2016), a closer examination will reveal, however, that the Festival of Masks was central to many aspects of Canela cosmology, sociology, and egalitarian polity. The aim is to demonstrate that Crocker’s emphasis on begging procedures activated by the Masks fits into a complex Canela theory of sociality, selfhood and the experience of - what Carlos David Londoño-Sulkin called - “thought-(body)-emotions” (Londoño-Sulkin, 2000: 170). The bodily performances which the Masks put to use in the Canela Festival involve an articulation of his theory. If moral actions stem from moral thoughts and feelings, the Masks have a moral dimension. They help us examine both what it means to be a moral person in Canela society and how moral behaviour is inculcated; the latter does not proceed through an internalisation of norms but rather through “habitual practices that become a constitutive part of personal identity, inseparable from the experience of an autonomous self” (Walker 2013:194). These studies together with comparisons between findings from other mask traditions will be situated within broader discussions considering what accounts for the rapid interest in the Amerindian visual system in recent years.

My other main research question is: what kind of logic is embodied in the Canela Festival of Masks? Crocker’s ‘archival impulse’ resulted in a corpus of film footage, photographs and personal written documents investigating the Festival of Masks in a broader perspective, which goes beyond more documented areas, such as the Upper Xingu (e.g., Piedade 2011; Mello 2011; Barcelos Neto 2004) or North-Amazonia (e.g., Goldman 1975; Erikson 2001).

The visual art forms of indigenous Amazonia have begun to receive more analytical attention (e.g., Gow 1989; Lagrou 2009).²⁶ Until recently, explicit writing about materiality has been largely absent from anthropological studies of Amazonia; Stephen Hugh-Jones, for example, highlights how past Amazonian ethnography has given relatively little attention to the world of objects (Hugh-Jones 2009:34). Since the 1980s, there has been a renewed interest in “the situated ways in which people use objects in the construction of identity, social formations, and culture itself” (Santos-Granero 2009:2). While indigenous Lowland South American societies were previously thought to produce minimal artefacts that were lacking in technical sophistication (Miller 2012), recent anthropological studies have shed light on the conceptual significance and technical merits of indigenous design (Lagrou 2009), body decoration and masks (Barcelos Neto 2004). Amazonian accounts have also contributed to a re-conceptualisation of material culture as encompassing various relationships between people and things (Miller 2012). Ellen Basso, for example, highlights how if the Kalapalo people are not wearing masks, they decorate themselves with brilliant body paint and feather ornaments. Singly, black is used when men communicate directly with powerful beings. Powerful beings are associated with darkness and with black, because of their presence in a world that is different from the one accessible to ordinary sight, and which is far from the world of externally visible light that is provided by the sun and the fire (Basso 1985:247). These studies depart from the assumption that the performers undergo transformative experiences during ritual (e.g., Basso 1995; Mello 2000 and Oakdale 2005).²⁷ Likewise, Aristóteles Barcelos Neto (2004) argued that the Masks’ non-human alterity is the key to understanding the Wauja body-sized Masks ceremony. Studies call attention to the fact that drawing designs, or masking for example, can be seen as the core metaphor for thinking about how the concept of alterity is embodied (Lagrou 2009).²⁸ Perspectivist authors (Viveiros de Castro 1998) connect Amerindian ideas about the body (and body-sized Masks and decoration) to notions of subjectivity and agency that relate mainly to the perceptions about non-human beings, especially animals and spirits, (Vilaça 2007). For example, the Kogi of Colombia describe a

²⁶ These contemporary studies focus on the many resonances that exist between the formal visual characteristic of style and a particular way of thinking by the Indians of Lowland South-America, see Guss (1989) for the Yekuana.

²⁷ Suzanne Oakdale, for example, investigating autobiographical accounts of the Kayabi, stresses that “ritual speaking performances promote some kind of transformation while it connects men with a variety of others - ancestors, spirits, and enemies – who speak through them” (Oakdale 2005: 56).

²⁸ According to Viveiros de Castro (2012), a radical difference between Western and Amazonian concepts of the person arises from their divergent attitudes toward animals and other non-human beings. The significance of this difference was also emphasised by Descola (1992), who observed that non-humans are often considered to possess a soul or spiritual principle and that it is therefore possible for humans to establish various kinds of personal relations with them, ranging from seduction or protection to forming alliances and exchanges of services. These natural beings are thought to be endowed with human dispositions and emotions, the ability to talk and a variety of other social attributes, including human forms of social organisation, behaviours based on kinship and respect for certain norms of conduct (Descola 1992:114). This crucial insight forms the basis of what is now known as perspectivism (Viveiros de Castro 1998: 470-471).

mythical figure capable of transforming into a jaguar through ingestion of a hallucinogenic substance and the use of a jaguar Mask, thereby attaining the ability to “perceive things in a different way, the way in which the jaguar sees” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975:55-58 quoted in Vilaça 2007:135). According to these authors, body perspectives are not fixed or immutable. In fact, Amazonian social practice has been characterised precisely as an ongoing, essentially predatory ‘struggle between points of view’ (e.g., Viveiros de Castro 1998; Fausto 2007), in “which all beings seek to impose their perspective on others while avoiding the attempts of those same others to do likewise” (Walker 2013:18).²⁹ In short, these authors have drawn attention to the ways in which particular forms of figurations (such as masks) and body decorations, connect the native notions of subjectivity and personhood to the powerful figure of the predator.

However, such studies, although comprehensive, cannot directly frame understanding of the Canela Festival of Masks. By the systematic study of Crocker's archive, I suggest that there is room to explore and expand upon alternatives to the predatory model of Amazonian ontology in the ethnographic record about the Canela Masks ceremony. My analysis of the Festival of Masks aims to change the focus of discussion, and to explore the different ways in which Canela indigenous art (masks) impacts their own collectivities not only in socio-economic terms but particularly in its own ontological dimensions. The theoretical focus on the mask's gestures, the structuring of space and movements in the circular community, and the celebration of abundance and generosity reflects more widely on what the Festival of Masks reveals about Canela sociality. The aim throughout this work is to show how the Festival of Masks fits within the theoretical landscape of recent studies labelled 'the moral economy of intimacy'.

I am by no means the first to draw attention to the divergence in orientation between Amazonian peoples; but there has been a long tradition of exploiting salient lines of contrast for the purposes of theorisation (Nahum-Claudel 2017). As mentioned at the beginning of this section, meditation on otherness have been a central focus of Amazonian anthropology. George Lau (2012) posits that, at least since the 1970s, alterity has been an influential concept in different fields, from art history to linguistics and ethnography. In recent decades debate in Amazonian anthropology has also been organised around the expansion and contestation of the predatory model of Amazonian personhood and cosmology, on ethnographic, theoretical and political grounds (Nahum-Claudel 2017). This effort has been the result of the creation of two opposing conceptions of native Amazonian societies, labelled as the 'symbolic economy of alterity' and the 'moral economy of intimacy' by Viveiros de Castro (1998), these two approaches have been re-presented as two opposite ways to apprehend Native Amazonian sociality. The first approach describes Amazonians as people who exalt the value of war and

²⁹ Similarly, Fausto (2007) describes the Amazonian lived world as one in which different groups, human and non-humans, living and dead, all seek to capture animals and enemy spirits, appropriating their names, songs and souls as a way of ensuring the reproduction of the social group (Fausto 2007).

are engaged in permanent intra- and inter-tribal fighting, highlighting the importance of affinity, exchange and ontological predation. The most influential anthropologists of the region, Philippe Descola and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, have both argued that Amerindian social philosophies are ‘cannibalistic’ (Descola 1992; Viveiros de Castro 1998). They mean that Amazonians are oriented to the capture and incorporation of alterity, both literally by means of hunting and warfare, and symbolically through shamanic and other ritual modes of drawing in foreign potencies, such as names, songs, masks, body decoration and capacities, for the purposes of social reproduction and regeneration (Nahum-Claudel 2017). Other scholars focus on the ‘moral economy of intimacy’, which Overing and Passes (2000:269) describe as an approach that focuses on the “local level and the domestic domain of Native Amazonian societies, placing emphasis on consanguinity, endogamy and the solidarity induced by moral sentiments.”³⁰ In recent years, there has been a tendency to re-examine, at the level of anthropological theory, interpretations and scholarship following these two divergent approaches (Santos-Granero 2000). Placing this argument within a wider theoretical context, Rivière has recently posited the fact that, when Viveiros de Castro (1998) recognised these two separate analytical styles within the recent studies of Amazonian societies, respectively, the ‘symbolic economy of alterity’ and the ‘moral economy of intimacy’, he specified the concept of ‘symbolic economy’ as encompassing other economies; Rivière states “encompassment suggests to me a linkage between levels rather than separation” (Rivière 2000:264). In reality Rivière writes:

In the political economy of marital, ritual and material exchanges between communities, otherness might play an integral part, and its degree of intensity is reached in symbolic interactions with an imagined cosmos of dead people and supernatural beings. On the other hand, at the domestic level or in the moral economy of intimacy, alterity is at zero for the consanguineous nature of the community is emphasised and otherness firmly suppressed (Rivière 2000:265).

Particularly useful, I find, is Rivière's statement that it would be useful to escape from an extreme division between the two approaches because the two levels form a coherent whole and the different styles are merely a matter of perspective or theoretical emphasis (Rivière 2000:265). In my thesis, I reinforce this idea by saying that no one of these (approaches) should be exhaustive and to privilege one does not deprive another of the insights it might provide. In many respects Canela people present a fascinating variation on many well-documented Amazonian ‘themes’, but in one respect they appear to be really quite different. This is with

³⁰ Since the 1990s the approach of the moral economy of intimacy of the British School of Americanism, has posited how it is only by paying attention to the details of ‘Amerindian everyday life’ that anthropologists can begin to understand ‘the strong native belief systems’, the norms and rules, in short “what the forces of order in a native community consist of” (Overing and Passes 2000:8). The anthropologist’s quest was to begin the “process of creating an ‘anthropology of the everyday’ where the moral virtues and the aesthetics of interpersonal relations, were the overriding concern” (Overing and Passes 2000:7).

regard to the much-used Amazonian hunting idiom, which has a long and celebrated history (e.g., Vilaça 2007; Fausto 2007). Crocker's approach, is that Canela people place themselves in the position of 'prey rather than predators' (Walker 2013). Additionally, Crocker describes the Canela as nonaggressive, noncompetitive, and anxious to avoid internal conflict. This relates to later arguments in this thesis regarding the logic of the Masks and the role of the performance inculcating the moral economy of intimacy (e.g., Viveiros de Castro 1996; Overing and Passes 2000). This thesis builds simultaneously on the moral economy of intimacy of the British School of Americanism (e.g., Overing and Passes 2000; Belaunde 2000; Londoño-Sulkin 2006), and on Walker's (2013) recent insights that seek to moderate some of the predatory model's core assumptions and to move beyond it in certain ways.³¹ For the Canela, it seems that the concept of predation is of limited utility in comprehending their lived world. Yet, it seems that rather than simply identify as 'prey', they seek out other ways of representing concepts of subjectivity and agency instead (Walker 2013:14). "Some of the most symbolically significant and sociologically productive forms of relationships established by the Urarina (a Lowland South-American group) are often associated with feminine spheres of activity, and embedded in relational ethics of care" (Walker 2013:14). It is proposed that it is this relational dimension of mutual belonging and affect that I will argue is a key part of the Canela moral economy that is epitomised by Masks during the Festival. The anthropological theorisations of 'moral economy of intimacy' seem better suited to approach the Festival of Masks, as a dialogic and collective enterprise, that occurs within a frame that is co-constructed by its participants. This allows me to see ceremonial encounters between the Masks and the villagers/participants as moments of incorporation, in which boundaries are crossed and affirmed at the same time, rather than as encounters that mediate a pre-existing condition of otherness.

This does not exclude the evidence recently demonstrated in Canela garden practices, where human dominion over marginalised humans and nonhumans is embedded in material culture (Miller 2012). Miller's ethnographic study among the Canela and Seeger (1981) among the Suyá's gardeners, shows that the 'master spirit' of a plant species is often thought to interact with both the cultivar and the gardener, thereby "creating a triadic human-plant-supernatural relational entanglement" (Miller 2012:90). These explorations of garden practices are useful because they reveal the materiality of garden spaces and the variety of possible engagements (or disengagements) between persons and things among Gê-groups. Compared to the overarching Gê-garden practices that represent the site of social encounters between humans and garden plants, the Festival of Masks is a ceremony that appears to put emphasis on the domestic domain of the group's interpersonal relationship which results from the continuous

³¹ According to Harry Walker, 'an analytical emphasis on predation' (2013:14) was an important step forward in recognising the moral and ontological autonomy of Amazonian people, but it also cautioned idealistically projecting Western ethical values onto others. It has also tended, as Walker (2013) argues, "to privilege and to generalise masculine modes of relating to others, specifically through the contexts of hunting and warfare" (Walker 2013:14).

sharing of food, acted out by the Masks, as the basis of the group sociality. This opening reflection on the social dimensions of the Canela Festival of Masks will be fleshed out ethnographically in the chapters of this thesis. A particular focus will be given to how the Mask's performative acts are associated with promoting Canela personhood.

Taking inspiration from renewed Amazonian theoretical approaches and debates this section also draws upon previous research by relevant scholars that has contributed to our understanding of social life among Gê-speaking groups (Nimuendajú 1946; Da Matta 1976; Crocker 1990; Turner 2009; Fisher 2000; Ewart 2000), with particular emphasis on body decorations and ceremonialism (Melatti 1978; Cunha 1978; Seeger 1996; Miller 2010). In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the picture of Gê-tribes changed radically with the publication of the studies by the German-Brazilian anthropologist, Curt Nimuendajú. One of the effects of Nimuendajú's work was to shift interest from the tribes living along the coast or in large towns, to those living in the interior. Two young anthropologists, David Maybury-Lewis and William Crocker, took up and developed Nimuendajú's work among the Gê-tribes in the mid-1950s. Maybury-Lewis did research among the Sherente in 1955–1956, then among the closely related Shavante in 1958 and later, the Harvard Central-Brazil Project was organised under his leadership. In the 1960s, his students, along with Brazilian colleagues, carried out field research among the Kayapó (Terence Turner 1962), Apinayé (Da Matta 1976), Kraho (Melatti 1960) and Bororo (Christopher Crocker 1972). This research has resulted in many articles and monographs as well as one comparative volume *Dialectical Societies* (Maybury-Lewis 1979). The research carried out by the Harvard Central Brazil Project was important because they undertook a rigorous analysis of Gê genealogical and demographic data, focussing on processes of marriage alliance (Roberto Da Matta (1976), Melatti (1978), Silva (2012)). These studies showed that the transmission of personal names among these groups was related to ritual roles. Such conclusions were important for the later development about the notion of person and the construction of the body (Seeger 1981; Da Matta 1976; Viveiros de Castro 1996), among Lowland South-American's groups. The other anthropologist who took up Curt Nimuendajú's study of the Gê, William Crocker, started his research in the 1950s and continued until recently. These studies have contributed to the field of Gê culture studies. Gê-societies became well known for their elaborate ceremonies (Maybury-Lewis 1979; Azanha 1984), and accounts of Canela ceremonial life are perhaps the most detailed of all the North-Western Gê-societies studied. The Canela became well known for their elaborate harvest festivals (sweet potato, squash and peanut crop ceremonies), and maize is especially ritually emphasised through tree planting, growing, and harvest ceremonies (Nimuendajú 1946; Crocker 1990; Miller 2012). The Suyá also have a maize ceremony, which centres on a ritual meal of maize pies and gruel, where all the Suyá society come together through the making and consuming of maize pies (Seeger 1981). The Kraho have similar maize planting and harvest ceremonies, which include the ritual consumption of maize-meat pies (Melatti 1978:170). Throughout these festivals, there is an overarching emphasis on societal reproduction and maintenance (Miller 2012), that corresponds with the growth and abundance of the maize harvest. A combined aesthetic and ethical appreciation for certain cultivated plants

and their growth processes are also described by Ewart (2000; 2003) for the Panará society, which have been studied especially for their peanut production.

There is limited ethnographic literature for Gê-speaking indigenous societies on masking practices and body decoration. These were considered less significant prior to recent anthropological studies that have shed light on the conceptual significance and technical merits of body decoration and the creation of ritual artefacts (Melatti 1978; Ewart and O'Hanlon, 2007, Da Cunha 2010), especially beadwork (Ewart 2008; Fisher 2015). Manuela Carneiro da Cunha's work (1978) has revealed that body decoration and rituals are central to many aspects of Gê sociology, and she provides an important sketch on the Kraho concept of body decoration. Carneiro da Cunha writes:

The urucum, is not considered a simple 'paint' but a 'tincture', and the Kraho use different verbs to 'paint' with jenipapo o 'pau-de-leite' plant, (hôg), and when they speak about drawing with urucum, (kukrä). The most important drawing is the one made with urucum (Cunha 1978: 54).

Da Cunha (1978) posits that the Kraho used brilliant decorative body painting and adornment which were also applied on the face of Kraho's Masks. Melatti (1978), who also did research among the Kraho community describes how the Kraho use the fruits of a palmácea, which are not consumed by the group, but produce a juice which helps them to fix the 'urucum' paint to the body or to the masks. The body can be adorned with red and black colours, and its symbolism is distinct. Melatti (1978) suggests a possible association between body painting and the decoration of Kraho's masks. He subsequently undertook a detailed analysis of two Kraho rituals in which the community used masks, which are called Ko-krit. Melatti classifies the two Mask rituals as 'initiation rites'. According to the anthropologist, the masks ceremonies, which were performed in the dry season, were used by the Kraho, as an indicator of the passage from one state (the dry season) to another (the successive rainy season) (Melatti 1978). This climatic change is of significant importance for the Gê-groups, as the Cerrado contrasts sharply in climate and vegetation with the tropical forest. There is a dry winter season of between three and five months with practically no rainfall. Flowers's historical accounts (1994), explore how the Timbira groups (like the Kraho and the Canela), left the village, throughout the dry season, for periods from a day to a week, or more, for hunting, fishing and gathering often bringing back substantial quantities of food, much of which was shared during ceremonial events. Melatti's descriptions of the Kraho annual calendar of agricultural and ceremonial activities are quite important, and I am especially interested in a similar intersection between Canela masking ceremony. At the same time, my account of the Canela Festival of Masks differs from Melatti's work, which seems less focused on the mythic, technical and social levels of analysis in the way that I have sought to show regarding the use of the Masks among the Canela. Melatti points out that the behaviour of Masks among the Kraho, is constantly permeated or characterised by 'states of liminality', which is specific to initiation rites. For Melatti, an important characteristic of the Ko-krit's 'liminar condition' is the constant request for food, going so far as to be "ridiculed during the ceremony" (Melatti 1978:271). Melatti states that in

both Kraho rituals, the Ko-krit's ambiguous and intermediate attributes are expressed by the act of 'asking for food' (begging), which is a behaviour that is not considered normal by a Kraho and who identifies it as a 'strange element'. Melatti writes that habitually, the Kraho do not demand things explicitly or directly from one another (Melatti 1978:271). On the other hand, the food closes the ritual, when the men perform a collective hunt and the women prepare manioc cake with cooked meat. Melatti has described begging procedures of Kraho Masks as well, but I detail a different interpretation for the Canela's Mask's practices. Contrary to what has been observed by Melatti for the Kraho, this thesis emphasises the importance given to the gestures of solicitation (begging) for food, which I suggest become an important vehicle for the expression of sociability among the Canela. Crocker has explored elsewhere how:

Canela attitude to 'begging' was practiced by more than half the tribe in order to have enough to eat; it was done with dignity and poise. In the late 1950s the dignity and poise with which the old Canela women and men used to carry themselves was obvious and striking. They did not suffer any negative emotional effects from their insistent, forthright, incredible begging (Crocker 1990:25).

The system of Canela 'giving exchange' throughout the practices of begging, as played out by Masks, and the participation in a meal such as the one described in the Festival was an important event in communal life, and indispensable to the task of building solidarity within and between residential groups. Furthermore, in terms of my focus on the social significance of the Festival of Masks, it was also important to draw attention to the term used to designate the Mask, which is also called Ko-khri-t (as among the Kraho) by the Canela (Crocker 1990). The Ko-krit are the only Masks made by the Canela. This analysis draws attention to Azanha's (1960), Melatti's (1978) and Crocker's (1990) description of the suffix *khri-t*, which according to these authors can be used to designate an animal's 'even spirit' but is more likely to be translated as 'the companion of the water' (Azanha 1984; Melatti 1960; Crocker 1990:276; Souza Lima 2012). Crocker and Melatti state that 'companion[s] and confidants' in these two Gê-group's world describes a relationship characterised by a mutual care and mutually protective roles for each other (Crocker 2004:62). This thesis describes in more detail how the suffix *khri-t* seems to suggest linguistically, a key element in the process of gaining a better knowledge about caring for others (topic discussed in Chapter Six). From a close examination of Crocker's images about the Festival, it is evident that the performance is not only composed of the highly ritualised distribution of food and rhythmic movement of the body through the practices of begging. It is also composed of a great deal of over-exaggerated expressions of generosity, compassion and shame, when they face an inadequate or ungenerous behaviour. Crocker writes that during the Festival, "the Canela treat these moving Masks as little creatures who are more like children than adults" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016), since they experience joy, shame and compassion (Crocker 1990). In a recent article, Paes (2003) described 11 photographs taken by Nimuendajú about the Canela Festival of Masks performed in 1935, but did not mention the fact that the Canela Masks performed compassionate states during the

Festival.³² It was Crocker's attention to details in presenting several photographic sequences of a single Mask that allowed me to identify compassion as one of the most important expressions played out by the Mask. My analysis of the ceremony in Chapter Five suggests that a variety of strategies were deployed in the Festival to emphasise one's status as 'needing or hunger' in order to elicit caring impulses, namely generosity, in others. As such, the Canela's Festival of Masks seems to express Canela beliefs about sociality based on generosity and care.

This work is also built upon Paes's description of a circular design on a Canela mask as depicted on in one of the photographs taken in 1935 by Nimuendajú; I draw attention to this particular design, which I suggest connects to an important Canela sense of sociality (addressed later in the thesis). Relevant works by Azanha (1984), Melatti (1978), Souza Lima (2012) and Ewart (2000; 2003) have already drawn attention to the symbolic aspect of the circle which mirrors the circular village layout of different Gê-groups (Da Matta 1976; Azanha 1984; Melatti 1978). These works have shown how Gê-societies conceive of the concentric circles as an aesthetic space in which sociological, ecological and ethical aspects of society are combined (Ewart, 2000; 2003). And there are many resonances in this thesis. It is possible to connect circular forms to symbolic processes and Canela relational activities performed in the Festival of Masks. The thesis discusses the circular context which provides the setting and structure for the successful circulation of food during the ceremony. The structured nature of the Mask's collective activities and its movements across the circular village, motivates the villagers to leave the enclosure of their separate houses to drink and to eat together with the dancer masks. It is in the circular setting and its perimeter paths that the maskers give way to their performative activities, when they move together into the front doors of all the Canela's houses and beg (for food) (topic discussed in Chapter Seven). In the circular arena, any demonstration of aggression or hostility should be suppressed. This account of the circular shape of the mask's design also revealed an extra detail, following Crocker's consideration that: "the circle for the Canela 'is the paradigm for their village life'. Crocker specifies that with "around-the-circle as well as across-the-circle bonds, the kinship system constructs an intricate web that allows some flexibility, but which weaves many connections holding the tribe together" (Crocker 2004:69). Furthermore, Crocker lets us know that the circular form of the ceremonial meal, the meat pies (Figure 4.41), which will be distributed among all members and consumed together during the ceremony, seems to exemplify the network of Canela kinship relations. He writes: "The rim of the circular meat pie, which is wrapped in wild banana leaves, is like the circular boulevard

³² Paes's article describes 11 images that were sent to Brazil by the University of Bonn, soon after the death of Nimuendajú, and today are housed at the Museu Gaeldi, in Belem, Brazil. Paes's pretext for the publication of these 11 images came from José Guilherme Magnani's suggestion, who was the editor of the Journal of Anthropology and he wanted to publish a special insert with a dedication to Nimuendajú, for the commemorative volume of the Journal, which reached 50 years in 2003. But as the author states: "Nimuendajú 's images did not contain any information which could clarify the ceremonialism process. What I want with these 'notes' that I wrote to accompany the 11 photographs, therefore, is not so much to 'explain' the black and white images, but to offer them an extra 'coloration', in order to highlight aspects and connections that I believe are relevant to the reading" (Paes 2003:45)

and its houses, and the bands of buriti straw crossing the meat pie are like the youths crossing the village in marriage” (Crocker 1990:266). In turn, relations within the community are characterised by the positive 'valuation of affinal sociality' (Nahum-Claudel 2017). Relationships conducted across lines of difference that people strive to maintain through the exchange of careful speech and reciprocal services are precisely the kind of social relations that are emphasised in the ceremony. These observations seem to contrast with the model of 'typical Amazonian social organisation in which, internal differences are "effaced by an overriding opposition between inside and outside such that affinity is suppressed within the local group" (Nahum-Claudel 2017:21). My focus on each of these themes is an attempt to reflect more widely on what this ceremony may reveal about the Mask's practices that were overlooked or academically undervalued. My account of the Canela is not concentrated on group day-to-day activity; rather, I aim to follow visual connections of this material and hope to relate them to wider symbolic and ceremonial frames. Crocker's documentation about the Festival of Masks is an aesthetically and visually textured representation of the many ways in which an enriched, embedded sharing experience among the group happened during the ceremony. The observations above provide several lines of thinking about Amazonian embodied lifeways and approaches to masking and material culture in social life. Theorising the Festival of Masks as a series of aesthetic sociological performances leads to a renewed understanding of the material and symbolic aspects of the Canela visual mask system, and of the group material culture studies as a whole. This study will show that close examination of the historical documentation about the Festival of Masks in Canela society can be an important contribution to the wider framework about the moral economy of intimacy (e.g., Overing and Passes 2000; Londoño -Sulkin 2000; Belaunde 2000; Kidd 2000; Walker 2013). In summary, the main research questions are as follows:

- How does the Festival of Masks show the central importance of sharing in the formation of a Canela person?
- What kind of logic is embodied in the Canela Festival of Masks?

1.4 An overview: Festival of Masks and the Canela History

Before characterising how this research was shaped by the study of Crocker's archive, it is important to look back in time to the Canela's broader political context, in which the Festival of Masks took place. As such, in this section, I also address how the story surrounding the Festival of Masks resembles a history of the Canela 's mixed ancestry linked to a heroic figure, Awkhêê and the transformations of the group over the course of a long history of contact (see Chapters Seven and Eight for more details).

The Canela were indirectly contacted by Portuguese military forces at the end of the 17th Century, and although the group's relationship with the non-Indians was far from peaceful until the mid 19th Century, when Dom Pedro II ascended to the throne, they surrendered to him

between 1810-1820.³³ It was during this period that the figure of the mythological hero Awkhêê was identified by the Canela with the figure of Dom Pedro II, as narrated in more detail in Chapter Seven. The Awkhêê's myth connects the Canela's oral accounts of the foundation of Canela society after their meeting with the non-Indians. The original story narrates how Awkhêê was a playful child with otherworldly power, who had escaped death by his uncles, who had taken a dim view of such a gift and tried several times to kill him by pushing him into a bonfire. Although they believed they had burned him in a great fire, he survived in the form of ash. Several days later, Awkhêê's mother went to see the location of the bonfire, and instead of ashes she found a farm with a white house. On returning to human form, Awkhêê had created the blackland society and economy, with cattle and chickens, a new place for all Canela to live. Awkhêê would then be identified with the figure of the 'benevolent Emperor' Dom Pedro II by the Canela (Crocker 2004).

An important significance of the story is how the Canela develop faith in, and reliance on, Awkhêê to help them (also discussed in Chapter Seven). Awkhêê escapes death and the possibility of losing his own land and his contact with his people, and instead creates a new world symbolised by the 'farm with a White House and animals, a new place for all Canela to live'. The significance of the myth seems to relate to the Canela's own revitalisation process after the meeting with the non-Indians and the Brazilian forces. Chapter Seven will detail how, in the Canela historical consciousness, the story of this myth resembles the Canela treaty with Dom Pedro II, which permitted them to conserve a small part of their ancestral territory. The Canela believed that Dom Pedro II was concerned for them and accepted the deal limitation and for this reason they identified him with the hero Awkhêê. What emerges from Crocker's analysis is that for the Canela the myth seems to justify the group dependency on the non-Indians and to legitimise the Indians' begging, as Crocker states: "because the non-Indians won the most prestigious shotguns (the Canela territory), in return the Canela were left in a subordinate position in the world of the non-Indians. Thus, the non-Indian peoples of the interior had to help the Canela and give them everything they would ever want and need"

³³ Historical accounts (Cunha 1973; Crocker 2004) posit that relations between the Canela and the Colonial Empire first and the family farmers or cattle ranchers later, were far from peaceful for almost a century, until the mid 19th Century when Dom Pedro II ascended to the throne of Brazil. The literature on the relations between the Indians and the Colonial Empire and the settlers is voluminous, and the record of genocides is well documented (Flowers 1994). The 19th Century was characterised by the collapse of the Portuguese Colonial Empire on 7, September, 1822, accompanied by Brazil's Declaration of Independence from Portugal, so becoming the Empire of Brazil. Formal recognition came with a treaty signed by both Brazil and Portugal in late 1825. In 1889 Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca deposed Emperor Dom Pedro II, declared Brazil a Republic, and reorganised the Government. A military coup in 1889 established the First Brazilian Republic. The country has seen a dictatorship during the Vargas Era (1930–1934 and 1937–1945) and a period of military rule (1964–1985) under Brazilian Military Government. Only recently, Latin American political history (likewise Brazil) has been characterised by the end of dictatorial regimes and the re-democratisation process, where one of the most important aspects was the creation of new constitutions (Little 2004).

(Crocker 2004:18). The Festival of Masks can be seen as a way to act out the message contained in the myth of Awkhêê [through which the practices of begging played out by the Masks which were originally a means for the community to compensate for their inferior status in front of the conquistador (Crocker 2004:85)] and as an important medium for sustaining Canela cultural identity and memory, a way to shape the terms of their existence within a larger social, economic and political network. According to Crocker, the Canela were traditionally organised and maintained through acts of giving food on demand (begging) as a means of establishing solidarity with each other. Chapter Eight will describe how Awkhêê's narrative seems to resemble the Canela awareness of the global historical context beyond their ordinary social lives and the Festival of Masks could be seen as the result of this process which took place in the Canela post-contact zone. In particular, the Canela seem to have used the Festival celebration to re-centre the history of their contact with the non-Indians, but within their own indigenous framework. It is proposed that through the Mask's performances, the Canela lay out the steps for a constructive action (emphasizing the acts of giving= empowering=person) leading to the positive social empowering of their own identity, especially during times of the group's intense change (the confrontation with the non-Indian world). Connerton (1989) demonstrated the importance of festive celebration in sustaining collective memory, through repetitive acts, that provide a sense of 'comfort and continuity' (Myerhoff 1990).

Chapter Eight contextualises in more detail this interaction between the mythical figure, Awkhêê, the Festival of Masks and the historical actors, the Canela. It explores the fact that the years between 1960 and 1970, when the Festival was held and recorded by Crocker for the last time, were described as very difficult moments for the life of the group (Crocker 2004). In the mid-1800s, the treaty with the Dom Pedro II Empire gave the community considerable space in which to develop a peaceful way of life during the 19th Century. After the death of Dom Pedro II/Awkhêê, they had to face new change-provoking events affecting their long history of contact with the non-Indians due to key changes in the Canela relationship with the Brazilian forces. Emperor Dom Pedro II died in 1889 and subsequently a Brazilian state agency for the 'fraternal protection' of indigenous peoples was created in 1910, known as the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (SPI), and the authorities declared a new policy for the indigenous people of Brazil (Little 2004). It was in 1938 that the first Indian Protection Service family arrived to live adjacent to the Canela village. Since then, the Canela started to become dependent significantly on the food supplies provided by the government agency and to practice the system of 'halving' with non-indigenous peoples, working on their lands in order to keep half of the production (Crocker 2004). By the end of the 1950s, the economy of the group became dramatically deficient, depending on outside support in order to maintain itself (Crocker 2004). The anthropologist further relates that by the 1960s, the advance of farms on the residual territory of the Canela, became more frequent and affected the group's hunting activities and more dramatically resulted in the destruction of the native territory. These years represented a very difficult moment in the life of the group, and Chapter Eight proposes that this might have caused the Canela to take a retrospective look at their own tradition based on their reliance on Awkhêê (their culture hero), and their belief that he could come back to save

his people as he had in the past. It is proposed that the Festival celebration therefore incorporated the allegorical component of Awkhêê to help them (see Chapter Seven).

On the other hand, the beginning of the 1970s marked another change in Canela way of life. Small-scale sustainable development projects were promoted by the Government, which continued until recently (Little 2004:32), such that indigenous peoples would be able to develop an independent livelihood within their lands for generations to come. The legal demarcation of Gê-territories happened during this time, although, while assisting in the preservation of their unique social and cultural activities (Miller 2012), it simultaneously resulted in a circumscription of subsistence livelihoods. Consequently, most Gê-societies started to rely on subsistence gardening activities more than they had in the past, and spend significantly less time on collective hunting and gathering treks (Crocker 2004; Miller 2010). By the mid-1970s, Crocker notes how gradually the Canela learned to value commercial goods and money and to practice more extensive farming.

At present, there are two large ‘garden communities’ in the Canela group of Escalvado, each with a circle of houses, which houses 80% of the population. Each family has a house in the main village, Escalvado, and it is to the village that they return for the annual festivals (Crocker 2004). Lately, however, there has been movement back to the village on the part of the families who have children who regularly attend the school in the village of Escalvado. These families spend more time in the main village, rather than on their gardens growing vegetables (Crocker 2004). In this context, Crocker observes how they have learned more about raising chickens and pigs, and sometimes goats, and about caring for horses and mules. However, he also notes that until the 1970s, “they still could not raise cattle because their hunger for meat drove them to kill the calf before it could grow to reproduce. Living for such immediate gratification was more characteristic of food collectors of the savannahs than settled food producers” (Crocker 2004:132). Recent studies (Miller 2016) have noted that among the group the gardens came to supply sufficient food for their survival, and certain Canela began to raise small numbers of cattle (Crocker 2004), even though they continue to suffer from insufficient production during the lean months from September to December. Crocker (2004) has discussed that the challenge faced by the Canela was one of guaranteeing sufficient food production in such a way that the kinds of food available don't come to an end in September. For example, they wouldn't have to consume the first manioc tubers after only a year of growth, when perhaps they were under developed; but with a sufficient production of manioc, they could consume only the tubers cultivated two or three years before. Several families had tried to produce a surplus which could be commercialised with the non-indigenous people of the interior or in the markets of the cities. By 1999, an additional source of funds came from the pensions for retired people from FUNAI (the National Indian Foundation), which has become a significant form of economic aid (Crocker 2004). Besides that, there were several people who were retired for health reasons, mothers who receive aid, and students with educational fellowships in the village of Escalvado. In 2001, there were also eight Canela Indians employed by the Funai, three by Funasa (the National Health Foundation) and four indigenous teachers in the municipality (Crocker 2004).

In broad terms, Crocker's 1990 monograph saw the abandonment of the Festival of Masks as a response to the difficulties of acculturation. The Canela were either intensively involved in practising more extensive agricultural practices, which may have led them away from devoting time to make body-sized masks, or were enjoying economic prosperity, which affected greater adoption of Brazilian customs. Furthermore, he stated that:

The Festival was abandoned because it legitimises begging which was a practice they have abandoned during my time with them — during the 1980s. Canela in earlier times were outstanding for their generosity of spirit through which they shared most possessions upon request. Not sharing freely was being stingy, which was the same as being evil. These days, however, due to the seduction of vast quantities of urban material goods, they have lost much of this compulsion to share. They cannot simply give away to others their items of significant monetary value, such as, steel axes and shotguns. They have developed instead a need to acquire household goods to satisfy a sense of well-being (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

As I argue later in this thesis that the Canela put aside the Festival (at least until 2011), should not be understood as a sign of cultural deterioration, what Ewart (2013: 32) called “rather old-fashioned analysis based on an opposition between tradition and modernity or cultural change and loss of identity”. Rather, I believe it was a consequence of a complex interrelation between general Canela principles and the ongoing historical conditions. Fisher, who did research among the Gê-speaking Xikrin, wrote “individuals and groups within a sociocultural order learn what is necessary and the means at their disposal, sanctioned or not, to strive for these” (Fisher 2000:14). Similarly, what will be proposed in the conclusion of Chapter Eight is that if the Canela were hunter-gatherers generations ago (which explains their sharing practices and the festival acts found in the Festival of Masks), they may still be thought of today as indigenous people whose sharing activities (shared forms of collective labour, distribution of food, and consumption of communal meals) remain; these are, using Fisher's words, a “rich depository of knowledge and tradition” (Fisher 2000:195). Chapter Eight ends by putting an emphasis on the fact that when the Festival was held again in 2011, it could be seen as an important starting point for rethinking how the Canela will develop, or are developing, their own modalities of citizenship today, at a time when indigenous rights and identities are under considerable pressure from above.

The historical background provided later (in Chapters Seven and Eight) will be re-examined later to help understand how the study of Crocker's visual archive had the capacity to break silences surrounding Canela material culture. The systematic study of Crocker's archive will demonstrate the important role of his records in supporting and challenging past Canela historical narratives. The important stories about this Festival form part of the narrative and memories that this thesis seeks to awaken. My own field-based research into understanding the images and objects in the archive has heightened my awareness of how Crocker's archival and historical images can still be identified and actualised in the present. A growing literature has shown that artefacts and images are indexes of social memory and tools for the transmission

of cultural and genealogical knowledge (Geismar 2006; Fortis 2013; Bell 2015). Language, songs and artistic tradition are a very rich, important body of repository for knowledge and tradition (Bell 2015). But often this knowledge and memory is connected to historical events and periods of intense social change. This study of the collection enables documenting the state of knowledge that was materialised and articulated by these objects (masks), but dormant for four decades (until the Festival was re-celebrated in 2011). The analysis is also a guide for the future, to the extent to which these interventions reflect marginalised and intersecting presences about indigenous groups, of their masking tradition from a region that was conventionally excluded from Amerindian art histories. Crocker has described the Festival as mainly a minor ceremony. I hope to show that the Festival celebration occupies a central position in expressing Canela core definitions of the self with their society, culture and history.

1.5 Chapter organisation

The thesis is organised into nine chapters which together, are intended to reveal new insight on Canela masking and documentation from a cross-disciplinary perspective. Crocker's visual project is analysed in two different but related senses. Firstly, Chapters Two and Three look closely at his use of photography in the sense of drawing the work out of relative obscurity, and Chapters Four to Seven, focus my analysis on one particular aspect of Crocker's recording enterprise, the Festival of Masks, to a level of detail and in a manner that is unprecedented. Chapter Two details the general and historical circumstances under which the anthropologist's archive of images about the Canela was made. Chapter Three outlines in detail the structuring of his anthropological records. By drawing attention to the design and implementation of his method of systematically depicting the Canela way of life, including his interest in their everyday collective practices, the chapter aims to demonstrate that his visual documentation reflected some of the most important Canela values, which I would suggest are central to their Festival of Masks.

Chapter Four provides an overview of the Masks formal descriptions and of the Festival system. It concentrates on what archive sources, both textual and visual, reveal about the general description of the Festival of Masks. Chapters Five to Seven will focus more specifically upon the Masks qualities and movements, their construction, how they were used and perceived, and how they engendered social relations and identity. In this context, personal written and recorded notes/footage were interrogated to understand in depth the implications and the life of the ceremonial practices in the Festivals. Tracing the life of objects through field notes, films and photographs will also inform an assessment of how the Canela interpreted objects and ethnographic data in later publications (Crocker 2007).

In Chapter Five, a close examination of Crocker's images of the Masks' bodily experiences makes it possible to evaluate more comprehensively the aesthetic and representational logic of the ceremony. An examination of such visual collections makes it possible to evaluate the important role played by some villagers, who, in the regulatory frame of the ceremony, refuse to share when a Mask approaches them to beg for food. I propose that the complexity and

richness of the Festival's dynamic are produced when the Masks, through the systematic begging procedures, experience a refusal by some Canela villagers. The analysis follows the embodied expressions given by the Masks to those (villagers), who demonstrate being 'ungiving', which are generosity, shame and compassion. Chapter Five discusses the role played by these obligatory performative acts between the Masks and the villagers. In this section, it is also shown that the Festival is a time for ludicrous activity and satirical events introduced by a Mask called little Bad Mask. It appears that for the Canela, humour and games do not undermine the seriousness of the Festival but are ritually sanctioned play which fit in the overall rigid structure of the ceremony.

Chapter Six discusses another type of involvement between the Masks and the 'female group' that is valued and made symbolically meaningful within the Festival context. In the Festival each Mask has a designated mother. This section discusses how the personification of the woman as a 'mother figure', which is likened to a parent-child relationship, occupies a further significant position in the ceremony. In Canela society, the bond between a mother and child is an important primary relationship, which influences the child's relationships with others within the community in the future. They help children to learn about the codes of conduct around generosity, in the community. And on the other hand, the redistribution of food during the ceremony promotes important Canela social bonding among its members. The Festival of Masks thus appears to valorise continued existence as a united, egalitarian society.

Chapter Seven analyses another ceremonial relationship system that structures the movements of the Masks: the circular village's space. The Canela village is both the place used by the Masks to engage in publicly intimate ceremonial acts of food exchange and collective meals with the villagers, and in speedy and directional movements, involving running in line to all Canela houses. The village arena encloses the open sandy arena, where Canela houses are situated around a great circular path. The plaza is formed by trails (like radii of the circumference), that connect the centre to each Canela house (Figures 3.1 (a, b, c)). In this aligned space, the Mask's movements follow the 'architecture' of the village, which connects the flute house at the western edge of the arena to the ceremonial pathway at its eastern edge. Chapter Seven discusses how one of the duties of the Masks is running in line through these pathways, and to make sure that each Mask's spatial movements connect each Canela household to the centre of the village. As other anthropologists who have worked in the circular villages of Amerindian communities have noted, action in such a space has a thoroughly reflexive quality, and performative acts and movement are aestheticised (Da Matta 1976; Melatti, 1979; Fisher 2000; Ewart 2013; Nahum-Claudel 2017). The circular arena is designed to host respectful conduct, controlled sporting contests and the performance of generosity through public exchanges. Following this line, the chapter discusses how the Mask's spatial and directional movements along the circular village seek to directly engage with each Canela family, and that they are as significant as the Masks' begging activities and the performing of emotions.

Chapter Seven also details how the imagery surrounding the Festival relates to the origin story of the Canela, based on the mythical hero figure and founding father, Awkhêê. This narrative represents the historic-ideological process through which the Canela described their meeting with the non-Indians. To describe the correlation between the story of Awkhêê and the Festival celebration, Chapter Eight outlines important aspects of Canela history, providing background information on the years which preceded the Festival's celebrations, in 1960, 1964 and 1970. It also considers in more detail Crocker's observation, made in 1970, that he was lucky enough to be able to record the Festival for the last time, as he writes that it "would probably be lost because of the large investment of time necessary for weaving the 20 to 40 body-sized Masks, which by the mid-1970s, was in direct competition with the time devoted by the Canela to clearing and preparing farms" (Crocker 2004:81). The section builds on a growing literature about Gê social organisation (Fisher 2000; Crocker 2004; Ewart 2013), which briefly highlights how many indigenous groups, like the Canela, had to face the challenge of becoming more subsistence horticulturalists (Miller 2016), abandoning a lifestyle based principally on hunting and collecting (Crocker 2004). It was between 1971 and 1983 that the lands of the Canela, like many others, were legally demarcated and became an official government reservation.³⁴ From then on, as with indigenous people throughout Brazil, small-scale sustainable development projects were promoted in order to make indigenous territories economically viable and environmentally sustainable. As we move closer to the present (from the 1970s to the 2000s), Chapter Eight examines briefly how key changes in practices in food production, consumption and distribution might have led the Canela to set apart the Festival of Masks (for at least four and half decades until 2011). The chapter ends with the ceremony being unexpectedly re-celebrated during the anthropologist's last visit to the group, in 2011, forty-one years after the 1970 event was last seen and recorded by Crocker in 1970. This information was obtained during the interview with Crocker in 2016, when he emphasised that no recording was made and no written documents produced.

The historical background provided in Chapter Eight sets the stage for understanding how the study of Crocker's visual archive, now in the Smithsonian Institution, has the capacity to invigorate memories of Canela cultural and ritual practices that were silenced for a long period

³⁴ Brazil had seven Constitutions:(1824, 1891, 1934, 1937, 1946, 1967 and 1988). But we had to wait until the new later Brazilian Constitution in 1988, which for the first time ever, recognised "the social organisation, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions of Indians" and guaranteed their "original rights to the lands that they traditionally occupy" (Article 231). This Constitution also mandated that all Indigenous Territories be identified, demarcated and formally registered by the Federal Government within a five-year span. Though this mandate was not fulfilled, the process underwent a notable acceleration throughout the 1990s and the first years of the 21st century: by the year 2004, 473 (or 77%) of the total 618 Indigenous Territories belonging to 220 different Indigenous societies had been identified and demarcated by the Federal Government, encompassing 97% of the total area of Indigenous Territories in Brazil (Instituto Socioambiental 2004 in Iuvato 2012).

of time. These images evoke deep reflections on particular aspects of the Canela collective past.

Chapter Nine turns to my principal conclusions about the importance of the study of Crocker's archive and on the function of the Festival of Masks. The concluding chapter also draws attention to how museums can make the collections available and the future implications for Crocker's Masks Collection.

Chapter Two: Historical and anthropological perspectives on William Crocker's visual work among the Canela

The immediate aim here is to present Crocker's use of photography and film among the Canela, the circumstances under which the images were taken, the ideas which informed them, and the general methods employed in making them, before moving to the ethnographic content of the ceremony Festival of Masks in Chapters Four to Seven. The section also introduces the methodology and the preliminary discussion about the theoretical framework used to analyse the Festival of Mask's records, structuring the discussion and development of two concepts: the moral economy of intimacy and it draws attention to native Amerindian ideas of the body. These studies offer a valuable framework in which to re-evaluate new understandings in respect of Crocker's masks Collection. Examples drawn in relation to the Canela Festival of Masks will illustrate the application of theoretical perspectives which situate these within the proposed methodology, and which will be applied throughout the thesis.

2.1 Crocker and study of the Canela

The picture of Gê-tribes changed radically with the publication of the studies by the German-Brazilian anthropologist, Curt Nimuendajú. From his studies of the Apinayé (1939), Sherente (1942), and Eastern Timbira (Canela) (1946), we know that they depended marginally on horticulture from the narrow strips of forest along the rivers and streams but mainly on hunting and gathering in the bush country (the cerrado). William Crocker, who took up Curt Nimuendajú's study of the Gê, started his research in the 1950s and continued until recently. Crocker's research focused upon the Canela. He selected the Canela for study because Curt Nimuendajú had written his most detailed and comprehensive monograph about them. He studied the references in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1946-1959), and found that 'The Eastern Timbira or Canela' (Nimuendajú, 1946) seemed to be the best subject on which to carry out a study. In the 1960s, Crocker began his career at the Smithsonian Institution. It is significant that Crocker's earliest knowledge of Canela was primarily visual and he went into the field with his mind filled with the images taken by Nimuendajú. Nimuendajú's monograph, based on research in the 1930s, provided Crocker with a baseline for a study. Learning Portuguese in order to do his research was an added attraction and he noted "I like languages, and any Latin Americanist should know Portuguese as well as Spanish. Even after these preparations, I was fortunate that it was possible to carry out the research of my first choice: a restudy of the Canela" (W. Crocker, interview, 2015). Thus, Crocker's original motivation for studying the Canela was to evaluate cultural change.³⁵ Nevertheless,

³⁵ The scholars of acculturation, who devote themselves to the study of Indian societies in Brazil also include Gálvao (1959), Baldus (1979) and Schaden (1965). Gálvao for example, presented one of the first retrospective

the study does more than present two cross-sections in time of a society: between 1929–1936 (Nimuendajú) and 1957–1990 (Crocker). With the help of Nimuendajú's data, Crocker wrote a diachronic history of the Canela from circa 1930, to the time of his fieldwork up to 2011. Specific changes and directions of change in Canela society and culture were constantly described and discussed in his work. "For no other Lowland group do we have such detailed data on cultural change over a half century as we have from the observations of these two highly perceptive ethnographers" (Spindler and Spindler 2004: xx).

In 1962 Crocker joined the Smithsonian Institute as a Curator for South American Ethnology in the Department of Anthropology, in the Museum of Natural History. He devoted practically his whole professional life to the study of the Canela through the museum, in addition to his curatorial duties. As the main anthropologist of their culture, he returned to the Canela where he produced a 'photographic ethnography' (Edwards 2001) and a series of films.

2.2 Parameters of the Fieldwork

Crocker's systematic methodology and use of visual media as a way of recording the Canela way of life during his fieldwork has been largely unsurpassed as an individual undertaking in anthropology (Wagley 1990). Firstly, his time in the field exceeds that of any of the cases included in "Long-Term Field Research in Social Anthropology" (Wagley 1990:xx). One of the distinctive aspects of Crocker's research is that he devoted his professional life to studying only two closely related Canela tribes: these being the Ramkokamekra (or Canela) and Apanyekra. As a result, his visual project in the 1950s can be seen as an important contribution to the kind of sociological analysis towards which visual anthropology was rapidly moving at the end of the 20th century (Hockings 1988). His fieldwork occurred during a time when there was a methodological shift away from studies and inventories of customs produced by early 20th century evolutionary paradigms towards studies based on long-term field research. In American anthropology, longer-term fieldwork revealed the relationship between different elements of a society as it was at a particular point in time and 'opened richer veins of sociological data' (Jacknis 1988).³⁶ Crocker's own visual practice resulted from a "meeting of the often conflicting emotions of the anthropologist whose sense of rapid cultural change ran alongside the documentation of continually traditional customary practices" (Geismar 2006:545). This methodological approach to lone experiential intensity shifted the focus of his research and of the camera lens. His photographs are not only reflections of this complicated context, they are what Geismar called "emotional encapsulations – moments of communality

analyses of the study of the acculturation of Indian groups in Brazil at the first Brazilian meeting of Anthropology in 1953. In 1965 Schaden published a more detailed review of this analysis in the first chapter of a book meant to analyse the cultural change 'of Indian tribes' through their contact with the 'non-Indian world'.

³⁶ For example, the overall aim of Mead and Bateson's visual project was to explore the relationship between parent-child interactions and the development of Balinese character.

and change, as well as documentations of more continuous traditions, illuminated perfectly by the presence of the ethnographer's shadow alongside the ephemeral visual documentation he is recording for posterity" (Geismar 2006:546).

Secondly, and significantly, once he arrived among the Canela, he began his intensive documentation of their life which continued intermittently for more than 50 years, and in which photography and film played a central role. His methodology consisted of a continuous tracking of the Canela way of life, mainly in the form of sequential photographs and slow motion images, using a newly developed power-drive on a Leica still camera (Iuvaro 2017).³⁷ The serial and sequential quality of these photos is generally high and engaged, as in the case of most of Crocker's images. This can be related to the fact that Crocker was mostly following an unfolding series of Canela activities, rather than recording short passages of unrelated events. Crocker reported: "I was just following them and trying to describe everything that was happening" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). Additionally, the images (photographs and film) were not made in accordance with a formal script, where Crocker directed the scene and instructed the Canela on what to do; its subjects represented a complex narrative of Canela life unfolding systematically over a long period of time.³⁸ Crocker also tried extremely hard to use a number of procedures to lessen the intrusion of the camera into the Canela's spontaneous activities and practices. For example, he mentions how he tried to limit the vast quantity of shots taken and footage exposed during the day. "I just took them as a matter of routine, wearing or carrying the cameras day in and day out, so that the photographer himself ceased to be camera conscious" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). Whilst it was Crocker's intention to help capture, document and even salvage traditional practice in the face of great cultural change, his images also provide us with his attempt to communicate intangible aspects of their culture. This is especially pertinent in relation to Crocker's comments in his monograph *The Eastern Timbira I: An Ethnographic Introduction* (1990), about how he finds ample opportunity to casually observe what people were doing by simply sitting on a mat or chair and 'eating three meals a day' in the Canela's residences. "By being inactive but eating and observing, I was one of the many fixtures of such rooms" (Crocker 1990:21). Thanks to this familiarity with the group, he could watch what was happening in other large rooms; for example, he took notes on the spot, or spoke into a microphone in English without disturbing the family interaction. He would often travel with whole families to farms or other villages. These trips were slow,

³⁷ The dominant tendency in academic anthropological research, in the 1950s, and indeed for at least two decades after that, was to interpret any 'form of study of the everyday as banal or insignificant' (Overing and Passes 2000). On the other hand, it was exactly on these aspects that Crocker in the 1950s showed his interest. His images in the collection depicts in detail the life of the group including food preparation, various scenes of children at play, men working and women's activities, adults singing with babies in their lap, making fires and hunting. He was a pioneer in methodology in documenting the every day activities of the group over a long period of time. The anthropological enterprise represents a very intensive-longterm investment in the collection of information regarding any single aspect of the life of the group.

³⁸ The material is not shot in a 'detached observation mode', recalling Mead's method (Henley 2013:96).

lasting as long as three days, and he reported how the women and children took a long time preparing to move and then only walked slowly. He had time to observe minute details about the travelling and the group; he wrote or took simple notes and produced still shots or motion pictures, for later elaboration (Crocker 1990:35).

Interestingly, in 1957, Crocker wrote about how he had wanted to justify a qualitative approach to appraising anthropological data since his early graduate school days in Stanford University. A passage from Crocker's fieldwork diary reveals how visual and aural research practices were integrated in his participation with the Canela people. He tells us how when he arrived among the Canela in August 1957, the reputations and names of Curt Nimuendajù and Olimpio Martins Cruz encouraged their acceptance of him. According to Crocker, the Canela wished that he was Nimuendajù's nephew because that would have meant that he was in his rightful place from their view of kinship.³⁹ Because Nimuendajù had been with the Canela as an ethnologist for 14 months between 1929 and 1936, Crocker was not such a novelty and his acceptance into the community was achieved within a week (Crocker 1990:26). Crocker reports how well he got along with the Canela, how they adopted him, gave him a family via an adopted sister, and bestowed a special name on him, which afforded him certain rights and honorary privileges. He reveals how – “being adopted into a Canela family, was the most successful and important event for my fieldwork among the group. As one of the family, I was able to participate in their personal and ceremonial life” (W. Crocker, interview, 2015).

I suggest that it was Crocker's intense and familiar relationship with the group that permitted him to shoot some of the most comprehensive photography ever conducted on the Canela and of their most important ceremonies, including the Festival of Masks.

For example, he posits how:

When my favourite niece Tekura died of tuberculosis in my Canela sister's house, I attended her funeral proceedings without pad and pencil and also without a camera. During the middle of the rite, however, the understanding older Kaapeltuk came over and asked why notes were not being taken and pictures snapped. Stunned, I came back with my equipment and photographed it, including views above and close to the cadaver, while my female kin were wailing (Crocker 1990:28). (Figures 2.1 (a / b / c / d/ e).

³⁹ The Canela had been the subject of Nimuendajù's most detailed and lengthy monograph and the group to which Nimuendajù had devoted the most time in field research, between 1924 to 1936. When Crocker first arrived among the Canela in 1957, Nimuendajù's book on the Canela helped him update the years since his time there in the 1930s.

As he mentions in his field notes diary, from that occasion onward he became aware that his role as an ethnographer as well as a tribe member was firmly established. The tribe's recognition of his ethnologist status made it possible for him to record aspects of their life and their festivals more intensively. Despite his somewhat uncertain intentions and relationship regarding dissemination of his photographs, taken together as a corpus of images, his work represents an interesting form of a photographic ethnography, structured by a 'real narrative' (Henley 2013: 78), where the visual evidence is confirmed by the fact that his images followed the activities of a small group over a longer period of time. Crocker's collection is characterised by a very specific organisation and technical method which it is practical and useful to examine systematically.

For the most part, the series of images (photographs) were organised chronologically and by year, into sections with ethnographic annotation appearing alongside an illustration of the event, producing new images to enter the museum archives "with the explicit intention of facilitating the possibility of future activation" (W. Crocker, interview, 2015). Additionally, in his field notebook he devised a system of abbreviations indicating the state of the subjects, for example, kinship relationships, marriage status and added notions of the publishable quality of the image. Crocker came up with a system of "running field notes," essentially a chronological narrative of observations (Mead 1942; Jacknis 1988). These notes were supplemented by a daily diary in which he recorded all the different kinds of activities in the field: photography, events observed, births and deaths, illnesses, letters and visits, ceremonial life, etc. He added contextual information which included the day of observation (and of write-up), a summary title of the action, a complete list of people present, the kind of photography used (moving or still, with identifying numbers), and the general cultural themes or behaviours exhibited or the ongoing social action. His personal captions indicate how much the photographs in his drawer have been re-contextualised—personal names, Canela language, notes on photographic technique, and ethnographic detail. In this way, his work offered a new model for integrating images and text. Crocker clearly drew upon his experiences as a museum curator to direct the archive collection of Canela ethnographic facts, encouraging detailed accounts of social practices, sufficiently random so as to benefit professionals concerned with advancing broad theories on the development of the community studied. By means of visual medium (photographs and film), he ended up highlighting what he has called an 'expressive culture'-life cycle and daily cycle activities, recreation and material culture. To this day there is little that can be compared to his visual archive documentation.

While he was not the first anthropologist to use the camera in the field, his work can be considered very significant for the uses and valorisation of photography in anthropology as a primary recording device, and not merely as an illustration (Mead and Bateson 1942). An additional interesting point is that Crocker was an active proponent of the National Anthropological Archive at the Smithsonian Institution in the mid-1970s. He was listed on the Advisory Committee and as a member of the Anthropological Film Research Institute along with Margaret Mead and others. Mead and Bateson's visual anthropology have received considerably more attention since 1988, because of Jacknis's ground-breaking article (Jacknis

1988; Henley 2013), while Crocker's film and photographic work continues to be relatively neglected in the anthropological literature. Henley (2013) recently posits how while for predecessors such as Alfred Haddon, Baldwin Spencer or Franz Boas, filmmaking and photography were merely one peripheral strategy, it was absolutely central to Mead and Bateson's fieldwork methodology. I would add that it was a central resource for Crocker too. As I have suggested elsewhere (Iuvaro 2017) his visual work can be compared with what Henley (2013) said of Mead's visual enterprise, when he posits how Mead's visual work anticipated the development of the "time-based narratives that characterised ethnographic visual work in the later post-war period" (Henley 2013:101). Henley (2013) refers to 'Trance and Dance', Mead's most remembered film. However, I shall briefly discuss important stylistic features which mark Mead and Crocker's visual enterprises as very different from each other. Henley points out some contradictions between theory and practice in Mead's works, principally her detached observation and disengagement - an integral feature of Mead's method of taking her field notes, where the subjects were often shot at "an oblique angle poorly framed and from a distant vantage point" (Henley 2013:88). It is my understanding of Crocker's work that on the contrary, he was intimately engaged with the Canela, using the camera so as to be directly involved in the action, right in front of his subject, moving around shooting from a variety of angles. This is probably explained by the fact that he had a much closer relationship with the 'subjects', having worked with them for several years.⁴⁰

Crocker's, like Mead's images, were predicated upon the race to record unique cultural material, subject to inevitable change (Jacknis 1988).⁴¹ Crocker points out, "I was not used to film. Still shots, yes. After Nimuendajú, I was the main ethnographer. The Canela were losing their material culture, so I had to record it before it was gone. This is not why I was there, but it was a responsibility" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). He clearly felt the responsibility to set in focus, with his camera the manifestation of the Canela's unique way of life. This was

⁴⁰ Henley noted how Bateson himself expressed concerns over Mead's visual practices and in a celebrated exchange with her, recorded in 1976, completely rejected Mead's idea that when used for ethnographic purposes, "the camera should be placed in a single static position, on a tripod, and left there to take shots for as long as technically possible, without any variation in framing or angle of view" (Henley 2013:101). Mead according to Henley (2013) was alarmed that Bateson should repudiate their earlier work in "such a radical fashion and advocate instead 'artistic' practices' that could reduce the scientific potential of her material record" (Henley 2013:101). Crocker, differently to Mead, paid attention to the quality of the images. Crocker's images are of an extraordinary quality, beautifully framed and engaged. Bateson according to Henley posits that, "if the filmed material is to have any meaning, it should be shot in a 'creative manner', with the camera photographer moving around shooting material in accordance with what he or she thinks relevant at that particular moment" (Henley 2013:102). Interestingly, if we consider Henley's analysis of Mead's work as a reference to compare with my understanding of Crocker's work – his visual enterprise, can be defined as the best example of the combination between what Bateson called 'a creative treatment' of the camera, and the 'use of a structural narrative' present in contemporary ethnographic visual work (Henley 2013).

⁴¹ For example, Mead's anthropology (like that of her mentor, Franz Boas) explored how the visual recording "saved" the event in some reified sense; this was a view that was still being voiced by Mead in 1975 when she wrote "of behavior 'caught and preserved' by film 'for centuries'" (Jacknis 1988:165). Interpretation could be provided later: the crucial thing was to salvage the data.

achieved through direct observation and photography; he states: “Camera and other recording devices are so valuable because they can provide us with material that can be repeatedly reanalysed with finer tools and developing theories” (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

Yet the visual accomplishments of the project have been subjected to surprisingly little reconsideration.⁴² In spite of the importance of these images and their potential to reveal material stories and major, long-term ethnography, they had existed quietly in the Smithsonian.⁴³ For example, the footage about the Mask ceremony does not seem to have been disturbed since arriving in the museum archive as part of the Crocker fieldwork records.⁴⁴ Now, with the conclusion of his long-term fieldwork among the Canela, his work can receive valuable and historical assessment.⁴⁵

2.3 Methodology

The study of the use and function of Canela masks and the Festival of Masks has been made through research visits to the following institutions:

- Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C.
- Offsite storage of the Smithsonian Institution (MSC) in Suitland, Maryland.
- National Anthropological Archive in Suitland, Maryland.
- Smithsonian National Human Studies Film Center in Suitland, Maryland.

⁴² There was a brief commentary by Wagley in the 1990s, who noted how, viewed as a study in visual field methods alone, William Crocker’s work makes an important contribution to visual and social anthropology and not only for the importance of its theoretical substance. Apart from Wagley, there was only one other online publication in 1998, made by the Smithsonian Human Studies Film Archives, about the one-hour film called “Mending Ways: The Canela Indians of Brazil”, which Crocker made with film-maker Steve Schecter, broadcast by the Discovery Channel, twenty-nine times up to September 2002, to bring the story of the Canela to a wider audience. The video edited by Crocker and Schecter has been culled from over 100 hours of film among the group. The National Geographic Society bought the international cable rights and the Discovery Channel bought the domestic rights.

⁴³ Crocker for his earlier (1979) Canela film projects (including the Festival of Masks) left handwritten notes about the specific recordings, and the archivist Mark White and Barbara Watanabe found them at my request. The 1970 record of the Festival of Masks was filmed with the help of the cinematographer Steven Schecter. “This footage should be annotated by Schecter and myself before it can be considered “research footage” and ready for editing into “research films.” (Crocker 1990:321).

⁴⁴ Mark White, Film Archivist at the Smithsonian, says that “Dr. Crocker’s film footage project (1958/60, 1964, 1970) earlier (than 1979) has been kept for over 40 years as attested by the label contained on the rolls” (M. White, interview, 2015).

⁴⁵ Iuvaro, Fabiola. William Crocker’s photographic collection among the Canela. Espaço Ameríndio (UFRGS), v. 1, p. 93-129, 2017.

One of the largest photo collections in the South American department of the Smithsonian Institution is of the Canela people, based largely on the work of William Crocker. Funded by the American Museum of Natural History, he developed an extensive collection of photographic field data: still records (prints, Polaroids, and slides); films (16mm and Super-8) and material artifacts. At the National Human Studies Film Center (now Archives) of the Smithsonian Institution there are more than 146,000 feet of 16mm and Super-8 film used to supplement field notes of festivals, life cycle rites, sing-dancing and sports. (M. White, interview, 2015). From the late 1950s through to 1964, Crocker's emphasis was on taking 56 mm size black-and-white photographs (using Rolieflex equipment). In 1964, a shift was made to 35 mm photography (Nikon cameras) and the number of shots taken was increased tenfold to 335 (16 mm Research Films). In 1957 a second-hand 16 mm camera (Bell and Howell) was brought to the field with a limited amount of footage of festivals taken in 1958, 1959 and 1960. In 1960, they contain scenes of the Festival of Masks. Additional lengths of film, also on festivals (and the Festival of Masks), were made in 1964 and in 1970 (Crocker 1990: 33- 34-35).

For this research, printed colour and black and white slides (980), colour prints (800), polaroid prints (425), and colour slides (9,000-10,000) have been examined. Much information, namely the material relating to Masks and the ceremonial aspect of them, is found in Crocker's visual archive material. This PhD is a detailed consideration of these important ethnographic data (footage, field notes and photographs).

Today these materials are housed in the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution in Washington and a storage facility in Suitland, Maryland. Work, headed by Barbara Watanabe, Crocker's research assistant, has begun to organise and catalogue all of Crocker's archives, field notes, photographs, videos, tape recordings, Canela diaries, censuses, as well as his own "head notes" (memories), along with fieldwork equipment and associated objects.

The rolls of film about the Festival of Masks were shot mainly in 1970, with a few images shot in 1964 and 1960. The main footage shot in 1970 is not chronologically ordered, and Crocker, in this version, worked with a filmmaker, Ray Brown, in the final preparation of more than two hours of unedited footage on the Festival, in collaboration with Smithsonian's National Human Studies Film Centre.

2.4 A comprehensive study of the films

At the National Human Studies Film Centre (now Archives) of the Smithsonian Institution there are more than three hours of footage about the Festival of Masks, from which I will analyse and clarify the ceremonialism process. The Smithsonian's National Human Studies Film Centre gives particular emphasis on providing public access to their collections through screening the videos in their own exhibition rooms. The screening rooms have specialised cinemas capable of screening obsolete 16mm format film (Figure 4.2). Transferred to video and used in playback mode with currently available lightweight video technology, these

records became an interactive aide in this research used reflexively to explore a number of substantive and theoretical concerns about the Festival. In this regard, the footage appears to be associated with the same proprietary value which Crocker traditionally attached to his written field-notes (Crocker 1990; 2004). They describe the Festival of Masks alongside attendant dances, food preparation and specific movements of the Masks, and in the 1970 film, perhaps the Festival received for the last time far more anthropological visual attention than that of earlier versions. A close examination of such collections makes it possible to evaluate more comprehensively the aesthetic and representational logic by which particular perspectives on the Festival of Masks are foregrounded.

This series of films helped me to contextualise the objects and allowed me to study Mask wearer performances, in which one can see how the Masks were used by the Canela villagers. In addition, they show evidence of the different phases undertaken by the Canela necessary to fabricate the body-sized Masks, and they also portray specific sequences of a number of traditional acts that the Masks perform during the Festival of Masks. Additionally, the potential use of the visual record archive was evaluated, together with the uniqueness of the image and more importantly its informational content, including how well it was documented in terms of subject, date, location and also the biographical or historical information provided by the document.

Additionally, approximately 100 hours of original film⁴⁶ was examined concerning the ‘traditional life of the community’, which was shot by a young cinematographer, Steven Schecter, who worked closely with, and under the guidance of, Crocker in collaboration with the Smithsonian's National Human Studies Film Center (now Archive).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ 1) *Individuality and Solidarity among the Canela*, 1975 (86.13). Creator: Steven Schecter, ethno-cinematographer. Physical Description: 432 ft (Sound Colour Film 17 Video). 2) *Film Studies of Traditional Indian Life in Brazil: Canela*, 1975. Physical Description: 84,000 ft sound colour 3) Creator: Schecter Steven, William H. Crocker and Sorenson, E. Richard. 2) *Film Studies of Traditional Indian Life in Brazil: Canela*, 1979: 39,540 feet sound colour, archival original. HSFA. These visual materials are stored at the Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Museum, Support Center Suitland, MD. The HSFA administer the use of this primary material. The footage was organised into specific sections. Contextual information included the day of observation (and of write up), a summary title of the action, a complete list of Canela present, and the general theme observed were in his written report, also stored at the HSFA. This material is the property of the Smithsonian, but can be used under certain circumstances, as was the case during this research.

⁴⁷ The footage about Canela life was very much the result of a collaborative team effort between Crocker and the cinematographer, Steven Schecter. During prolonged stays in the field, Schecter filmed about 36,000 meters (120,000 feet) film (over 100 hours) most taken in a random sample. This filming was carried out under the direction of E. Richard Sorenson and Crocker, and took place under the auspices of the Smithsonian's National Human Studies Film Center and the Museu do Indio in Rio de Janeiro. Today they are not part of Crocker's collection, but are now with the Smithsonian's National Human Studies Film Archives, successor to the NHSFC. Mark White the archivist at the archive posits how “importantly the original footage has not been manipulated for the purpose of producing a narrative structure in the making of a documentary” (M. White, interview, 2017), as was always the case in the well known visual enterprise carried out by Mead and Bateson. In addition, even if Crocker's photographic work is better known than Schecter's footage, again only a small fraction of both these

In the 1970s, the National Anthropological Film Center (now Archive) was located in the National Museum of Natural History,⁴⁸ run by Dr. E. Richard Sorenson who promoted a creative collaborative film research programme, facilitating “the development of several film productions by scholars and researchers in non-developed countries, in an effort to document, what seemed to him at the time the ‘threatened cultural heritage’ of many indigenous groups”⁴⁹ (Sorenson & Neuberger 1979), in their report on the beginning of the National Anthropological Film Center, in 1979. Archival document stored at the HSFA).⁵⁰ Crocker, who had at the time established his role as a researcher among the Canela, spent over 60 months with the group and became an active proponent of Human Studies Film Archives (Margaret Mead was the founding Chairman), and agreed to have one of Sorenson’s cinematographers, Steven Schecter, who was then a college freshman, with him among the community in 1975 and 1979.⁵¹

While the anthropologist took the principal photographic record, Schecter acted as a kind of director and kept a verbal commentary which documented the field footage. This material had an important value in this work, as it was used it to identify a number of theoretical points made

large amounts of visual data about the Canela’s life has ever been published (with the exception of Crocker and Schecter 1999). The published photographs are mainly restricted to Crocker’s written documents.

⁴⁸At the time, Crocker was the Curator for South American Ethnology in the Department of Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution.

⁴⁹ Little (2004) makes a detailed analysis of how our understanding of the relationship between dominant national societies and native people has changed over the past 25 years both within the discipline of anthropology and the wider political sphere in Brazil, as across the world. He posits how within anthropology, the concept of ‘acculturation’, which sustained two generations of anthropological research came under criticism for its focus on the ‘one-way assimilation’ of indigenous peoples into national societies. In the 1960s, the author writes that “new approaches to interethnic relations emerged led by such key concepts as ‘interethnic friction’ (Cardoso de Oliveira) which directly incorporated the concept of how numerous forms of passive and active resistance by indigenous peoples guaranteed the survival of hundreds of indigenous societies within Brazil, together with the creation of new indigenous societies via intricate processes of ethnogenesis” (Little 2004:5). This, in turn, suggests Little, led to the implementation of an anthropological approach based on the concept of ‘interculturality’ where native groups “are no longer considered as primitive, inferior nor destined to disappear in the face of Western modernisation. Rather, he says interethnic relations are now understood as the encounter between societies having distinct cultural backgrounds in which the flow of influence is multiple and often unpredictable, thus creating the need to better understand the intricacies of intercultural relations” (Little 2004:6).

⁵⁰ The movement toward a national research film centre began in the 1960s and Sorenson saw his role – as he states “to be the promoter of extensive filming of child training and education production, in ‘disappearing societies’ all over the world. I recognised an urgent need to prepare and preserve visual data records of the human expressions presented by the traditional ways of life and culture of the world, and my aspirations are sustained by both scientific and humanistic scholars” (Sorenson & Neuberger 1979). These manuscripts and notes are stored and managed by the National Anthropological Film Center (now Archive) in Suitland, Maryland.

⁵¹ Crocker writes: “I arranged for Schecter’s adoption into a Canela family which had no children but which was close to other families of many children. This is how the younger cinematographer became the neighbours of Pedro, Iom-tamm, and Carampei. Thus we are deeply grateful for Dick Sorenson’s foresight and leadership during the 1970s and for the use of the film shot under his auspices” (Crocker 1990:354). Schecter today is a well known documentary producer who owns his own company, ‘Schecter Films’.

by Crocker elsewhere, such as the importance of sharing and the moral economy of intimacy. In this regard, the films helped Crocker's analysis as much as his written field-notes. Photographing, recording and adding written information contribute to an "important traceable phase in objects's field lives, the objects becoming field notes that show facts and facilitate continued research in the field and beyond" (Thomas 2014:370). While the first aim was certainly inspired by looking at the collection concerning the Masks, this 'photographic ethnography' (Edwards 2001), discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, occupied an important role in understanding the logic behind specific social dynamics displayed in the Festival.

2.5 Preliminary discussion and analysis of the Masks

The study of this important visual archive and the Canela masking tradition is structured around two concepts that will be addressed in this section.

The first theoretical approach which influences my analysis concerns the study of emotions and the moral economy of intimacy (e.g., Overing 1999; Passes 2000; Kidd 2000; Londoño-Sulkin 2000; Walker 2013). An extensive anthropological literature has recently been produced on the cultural construction of emotion. In the volume *The Anthropology of Love and Anger*, Overing and Passes (2000) and others in the same volume (Londoño-Sulkin 2000; Kidd 2000), stress the fact that sensory experience in ethnographic description has been underestimated. These authors have brought to our attention the fact that the rich language of affect and intimacy which is linked to Amerindian sociality "is not to be mistaken for evidence of a prioritising of emotions over reason. It is a language that speaks 'axiologically' of the social benefit of the practice of the everyday virtues of love, care, compassion, generosity and the spirit of sharing" (Overing and Passes 2000:19; Belaunde 2000). These practices are integrally linked to knowledge and moral value, and therefore to a type of sociality that demands reflection about moral virtues and their practices. In the Introduction of *The Anthropology of Love and Anger: The Aesthetics of Conviviality in Native Amazonia* (Overing and Passes 2000:20), posit how "nowadays, thanks to the work in the anthropology of emotion, the sensory experience and the body are now recognised to be no less social and cultural than physical – a point of great relevance nowadays where we find 'body creation' rituals (e.g., Londoño-Sulkin 2000; Lagrou 2009) and the idea of embodiment and/or the mutuality of sociality" (Walker 2013). This is consistent with Crocker's theory that festivals, as crucial elements of Canela religion, are composed of different ceremonial rituals that instill profound feelings for and beliefs in the Canela way of life, especially in the young. Crocker highlights how "most Canela cannot read, but they can observe the roles carried out in these Festival acts" (Crocker 2004:122), a statement which serves as a key point for a more comprehensive vision about the notion of Canela personhood. From this social perspective, my hypothesis is that the Mask performance (identified by Crocker as a cultural justification for begging), reinforces the basis for constructions of subjectivity and personhood in Canela individuals. This occurs through the implication of generosity expressed in different dramatic bodily acts during the Festival of Masks. The Canela are carefully trained in the Festival to master the positive virtues of

compassion and generosity that make the ‘convivial social state possible’ (Londoño-Sulkin 2000:171). The foregoing is critical to how we understand the concept of ‘self’ and ‘person’ among Amerindian peoples. Nick Crossley (1992) posits how Rituals or ‘Festival’ (in Crocker’s terminology) involve knowledge of social rules and social roles, and this is why rituals have such a crucial role in the maintenance and reproduction of society.⁵² Gonçalves also notes the importance of experiencing ritual in the way Amerindian peoples represent the world, as something always constituted through action and creation (Gonçalves 2005:636). Basso (1995) similarly demonstrated that the importance of stories for the Kalapalo consisted less in their representing collectively accepted images that animate social life than in their describing and performing the experiences of individuals exploring alternatives for their lives. This concerns a distinctive cultural emphasis on immediate performative experience of sharing space, things and actions that contextualise people’s knowledge of each other. As we will see in more detail later, the Canela relegate the act of direct, unabashed begging during the Festival of Masks to creatures (called *Ko-khri-t*) that are likable and experience joy, shame and compassion. The Canela, in the Festival of Masks, orchestrate a series of models for traditional behaviour and momentary identification with personal experiences of others.

Secondly, to understand how Canela masks function, this work draws attention to native Amerindian ideas of the body. In 1979, Seeger, Da Matta, and Viveiros de Castro authored an article that formed the basis to understand the structure of Amerindian societies, which differed from models imported from other regions such as Asia, Africa and Melanesia. This fundamental text on the notion of the person examined the work of ethnographers like Christopher Crocker on the Bororo, Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff on the Desana of northwest Amazonia, Overing on the Piaroa of Venezuela; they emphasised native ideologies of corporality, such as ‘theories of conception, the theory of illness, the role of body fluids in the general symbolism of society, body decorations’ (1979:3). They concluded that the body and its processes were central for Amerindians:

The originality of Brazilian (and more widely South American) tribal societies resides in a particularly rich elaboration of the notion of the person, with special reference to corporality as the focal symbolic idiom. Or, put otherwise, we suggest that the notion of the person and a consideration of the place of the human body in the vision that indigenous societies produce of themselves are fundamental for an adequate comprehension of the social organisation and cosmology of these societies (1979:3).

⁵² Nick Crossley (1992) interprets rituals as a form of what Marcel Mauss (1978) calls ‘body techniques’. Crossley according to Schilbrack (2004) argues that this entails not just knowledge of how to do the ritual itself, but also knowledge of how to relate to the natural and, especially, the social world.

In another important essay, Turner (2012:486) remarked how: "the surface of the body should be treated, not only as the boundary of the individual as a biological and psychological entity but as the frontier of the social self as well" (Turner 2012:486). These works have suggested that native Amerindians conceive the body as the locus of sociality (e.g., Viveiros de Castro 1998; Vilaça 2007; Turner 2012; Lagrou 2009). According to Viveiros de Castros (2012:134) the body is a concept which expresses how the intense, semiotic, especially visual use of body paintings and of body-sized masks, amongst Amerindian people, is important in the definition of personal identities and in the circulation of social values. This notion derives from the Amerindian idea that the human body is not naturally given, but it is rather the result of kinship relations and particular acts of caring (Santos-Granero 2009; Walker 2013). For example, among the Wari (Vilaça 2007), the Urarina (Walker 2013) and similarly, as suggested by Crocker for the Canela (1990), the body of the child continues to be fabricated after birth through alimentation and other practices with parents, siblings and other kin. Adopted children are considered consubstantial with their adoptive parents and, in an analogous manner, husband and wife become consubstantial through the physical proximity consequent to marriage (Crocker 1990). Viveiros de Castro (1998), returned to the question of Amerindian corporality arguing that food is central to the constitution of physical identity, and Vilaça (2007:175) reinforces how among the Wari the consubstantiality produced by physical relations and by commensality is "just as effective as that attained by birth, so that those who live and eat together, or who share the same diet, become consubstantial over time, especially if they end up intermarrying". More than simple physical substance, the body for the Amerindians is, as Viveiros de Castro (1998:478) has observed "an assemblage of affects or ways of being that constitute a habitus". At the same time, the Festival of Masks is mediated by specific belief configurations that relate to notions of the body and human subjectivity. One of the defining characteristics of the ceremony is that the public management of emotional life during the Festival is articulated upon key formulaic bodily Masks expressions (begging, compassion, shame, pity) which are used to develop specific feelings in the participants. As suggested by Rosengren (2000:221-222) "emotions are intimately associated with the person being affected, but as human beings are eminently social beings this means that others are also influenced." It is from this social perspective that this thesis discusses the role that particular masking performances play in the constitution and de-constitution of persons and bodies among the Canela. In recent years the performative aspect of Amerindian material culture production has been assessed, with special importance given to the body and embodiment in person-object relationships (e.g., Santos-Granero 2009; Miller 2012). This work moves away from the passive system of visual and aural disinterested contemplation (Berleant 2002), to the study of visual arts and aesthetics as an active, processual system that incorporates all the senses (Merleau-Ponty 1964). Taken as a whole the motive behind the Masks performing emotions seems to be to offer and strengthen Canela dispositions about proper community life and the feelings which are supposed to go with it. This is consistent with Crocker's theory that it is in the Festivals that the community is engaged in relationships that work together to shape personal identities and concept of the self.

Equally important in the Festival is the fact that the Mask, through the embodied ‘begging’ procedures by means of waiting to receive food from the villagers, demonstrates that the Festival has a powerful way of “incorporating” the spectator into the performance. The possibilities, grounded in the Mask’s lived experience of the Festival, bring a whole range of attributes to mind that then become available to the participant/observer. Thus, the ability of the Masks to create corporeal responses (of generosity, for example), in the participants may be as basic as showing them certain facial expressions, and this may be transmitted by an actual personal contact activated by the Masks. Returning to my earlier comment, Viveiros de Castro speaking of ritual paraphernalia and perspectivism, calls attention to the fact that “to put on ‘Mask-clothing’ is not to conceal a human essence beneath an animal appearance, but rather to activate the powers of a different body” (Viveiros de Castro 2012:135).⁵³ When a person imitates something, Gadamer suggests:

He allows what he knows to exist and to exist in the way that he knows it. A child begins to play by imitation, affirming what he knows and affirming his own being in the process. For example, when children enjoy dressing up, they are not trying to hide themselves, pretending to be something else in order to be discovered and recognised behind it, but, on the contrary, they intend a representation of such a kind that only what is represented exists (Gadamer 2012:113).

The centrality of the Mask’s faces and the physical expressions of emotions in the Festival creates increased potential for the Canela to identify psychologically with them (MacDougall 2006). I would contend that the traditionally repeated bodily expression of emotions through Masks emphasises how the body “is not merely the location where social identity is expressed but the substrate where it is fabricated” (Vilaça 2007:175). I propose that the Festival presents a striking way by which the Canela conceptualise the nature of being a human person: the central importance of sharing in the formation of a Canela person. Crocker’s film footage and photographs allow us to incorporate the performance into our experience in ways that may reflect the experience of the Canela more directly. They complement and give additional information about the Canela ways of life. For example, the images are socially and emotionally immersed as they were mostly taken by Crocker in the middle of the performance, and the location and the peculiarity of the images, highlight such a moment, as if it is happening before our eyes.

When photographing each Mask from several angles in 1970, one Mask came too close and disturbed my focus by playing with me manipulating his face in the begging style, thrusting up the lower facial edges and grunting at me, it was impossible for me to refuse these endearing creatures (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

⁵³ See also Ewart (2007) and Galan De Paula (2017).

As a result, when Crocker took the photographs of the Masks discussed in the thesis (with the collaboration of Ray Brown), he seemed to follow one basic rule of photographic composition: ‘filling the frame’ (Ulrich 2015). This means that for every shot, as suggested by Ulrich (2015) “the photographer tried to fill the viewfinder of the camera (either by standing more closely to the object or by using a long, focal-length lens) in order to maximise the amount of information landing on the CCD sensor” (Ulrich 2015:194). Crocker sorted images to present several perspectives of a single Mask, or in sequences which showed how a social event evolved through time. For example, Figures 4.46 to Figure 4.49, captured specific movements of the wearer while begging for food from the villagers, as it shows also that the front of the Mask was slit so its user could see ‘but go unrecognized’. In the Figure 4.49 he opened, closed and shaped the slit by pulling strings, giving the face of the Mask a specific expression, namely compassion. As the camera drew in more closely, Figure 4.48 revealed another specific “postural expression”, such as shame, by manipulating the facial slits with internal strings and by the submission of postures (head bowed to the ground and grunting piteously).⁵⁴ Pinney (1992) described this kind of photograph as ‘images of corporeal affectivity’; the facial expressions and bodily movements of the Masks can be taken to provide information about Canela figures endowed with specific feelings.⁵⁵ Consequently, I argue that Crocker’s images will help to establish a unique visual narrative of the Masks ‘mirroring’ the construction of emotional typical behaviours performed by them. In fact, the Masks are all associated with some desirable property or form of knowledge to be appreciated and instilled during the Festival. MacDougall (2006:56) writes: “Films may not construct narratives in the strict sense, that is as storytelling, but they do construct narratives, or ‘narratives of the eyes’” (MacDougall 2006:56).⁵⁶ Similarly, Bakhtin (1990) explored how, by expanding vision, film has the power to engulf the spectator in social and geographical space. The film images about the Canela are permeated with the imprint of the human environments. MacDougall (2006) explains:

⁵⁴ The performers help the villagers to distinguish and reveal a change in a particular mask’s behavioural appearance, although they create a sense of unity and uniformity; while representing a ‘multi-voiced persona/character’ in which all of the emotional statuses contribute to expressing the important Canela messages, and simultaneously encouraging interdependency and a heightened sensitivity between each individual of the group.

⁵⁵ Posture is usually defined by the position and orientation of specific body parts. Harrigan (2005) reports that posture coding systems use the following common descriptors: head (upright, forward or backward), lowering the head and body down trunk orientation (facing, turned), arms and leg positions and configurations (hands in pockets, legs crossed) (Harrigan 2005:23).

⁵⁶ For a closer examination see MacDougall (2006) when he states that: “the possibility of grasping a complex social event simultaneously through its various dimensions of gesture, facial expression, body movement, and physical surroundings is something that a text can approach only with great difficulty. Indeed, it is in the realm of interpersonal relations that the visual complexity of the image has particular relevance for social research, as it does for cinema as an art. In film we grasp objects and events in their complexes and continuities, and it is the interrelationships of these that are often more important than the components of the images taken separately” (MacDougall 2006:50-51).

Each social landscape is a distinctive sensory complex, constructed not only of material things but also of human activities and the bodies of human beings themselves. Human environments are beginning to be better understood as the culturally constructed settings within which the other dimensions of social life are played out. They reflect historical, economic, and political forces, but also aesthetic judgments that directly affect how people live and the decisions they make. This impinges on the viewer in various ways – as hyperawareness, shock, and pleasure (MacDougall 2006:58).

Further, MacDougall (2006) posits that in understanding the experiential qualities of visual media, emotions may, in turn help, the viewer to understand how and why people behave or interact as they do – how conversations are modulated by looking, gesturing, and touching. Crocker's images allow examination of the context of the Festival and the ways in which the community identifies particular qualities that a good Canela person should have. Yet, the distinctive cultural emphasis on immediate bodily experience in the Festival has important implications for sociality and personhood.

Finally, Crocker's methodological field use of "mimetic technologies of photography" (Edwards 2001) depicts a particular Canela human (generous) attitude; it can be argued that his work in the mid-1950s was a precursor to the study of the 'affective side' of Amerindian sociality. This is what has been called "a convivial sociality, that prioritises the language of intimacy and such other regarding social virtues and emotional conditions as love, compassion, amity, generosity" (Overing and Passes 2000:20). The Canela Masks fit into the wider framework of these studies about the moral economy of intimacy (e.g., Overing and Passes 2000; Kidd 2000 and Londoño-Sulkin 2000). These accounts will be considered in this context, situating Crocker's fieldwork within wider disciplinary histories in order to evaluate new understandings in respect of Crocker's masks Collection.

2.6 The overlooked

In a recent article on his use of photography among the Canela, I have posited the fact that Crocker did no regular teaching at a university and it may have blunted the recognition his work demanded (Iuvaro 2017). He was unlike Mead, for example, who disseminated her views on visual anthropology through her teaching post at Columbia University and in several articles (Jacknis 1988:172). Crocker was less inclined to propagandise the use of photography within an anthropological forum. Although George and Louise Spindler added that "even if he has been away from the academic forum, he appreciates the opportunity for intensive and long-term research his career at the Smithsonian has provided, where he continued to use film and photographs as 'field records' in his research" (Spindler and Spindler 2004: xx). Yet in disseminating the record, Crocker appears to participate in this marginalising process himself. In answering my questions about his arrangements for publishing the fieldwork photographs, he says that he did not intend to actually turn his visual reports into an album for publication (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). On the other hand, Crocker clearly valued his visual archival collection as an important part of his scientific endeavour and, perhaps, he is conscious of how

much he has left undone. He advocates: “I always intended that my voluminous field materials would one day be accessible (as they now are) for future researchers to examine, to form the basis for alternative interpretation” (W. Crocker, interview, 2015).

The following Chapter Three will outline the structure of Crocker’s anthropological record in more detail and presents Crocker’s archive of photographs and images that elicit a composite view of Canela life, between 1960 to the 1970s, culminating in the formation of the Canela visual Collection at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History.⁵⁷

Before analysing the ethnographic content of the Festival footage, in great detail, it is important to establish just who the Canela were when Crocker arrived among them. The images are intended to give a general sense of how the community looked at the time Crocker was there and when he recorded the Festival of Masks for the last time. If not immediately and directly linked to the Festival, they form at the very least a striking social and ethnological documentary of community life. Overall the collection (films and photographs) incorporates many key elements of worth. The images depict in detail the life of the group including food preparation, (making meat pies), various scenes of children at play, men working and women’s activities, adults singing with babies in their lap, swimming and having baths, morning meals, making fires and hunting. The value of these moments is evident from their expressions of admiration, or contempt for others during these activities. The images represent the complex life of the group, and specifically their interactions and practices expressive of the community’s ideas of how to live well, and the collective social life they achieved by such practices.

⁵⁷ The images considered in this thesis are mainly from 1958 to 1970, with few exceptions. Images from between 1958 and 1970 were chosen because 1970 was when the Festival of Masks was celebrated and recorded by Crocker for the last time. It is worth mentioning that the Festival of Masks was only celebrated again in 2011, the last time Dr. Crocker was there among the group, but there is no recording of the event.

Chapter Three: Practices of generosity among the Canela and the Festival of Masks

Inscribed in the archive of Crocker's photographs is the history of the Canela's settlement pattern and land use, their spatial arrangements and the size of their population (although only images from 1957 until 1970 were considered, with few exceptions). Most of the photos examined in this section were chosen because they reflect the anthropologist's exploration of a particular attitude of the Canela. A good example is to be found in the many images recording private and public interactions, that reveal the group affective space of personal relationships centred around everyday care and responsibility towards each other. These included sharing activities, collaborative domestic work and meal consumption. In these activities, the spirit of collective membership and collective responsibility among the group, was best defined by this constant passage of goods, particularly food.⁵⁸ Reading the images (to be discussed in this section) and the form of 'a particular conviviality' (Overing and Passes 2000) which they display, helped to extrapolate important information about the Canela subjects and then contextualise important aspects of their ceremonial life. A greater understanding of the predominant forms of distribution of food among the group is intimated by Crocker's own description:

When a family man had killed a deer and hungry people came asking for some venison, a piece was quickly given to them. When asked, the man responded by being generous. The generosity of the Canela family man, therefore, was more practical than altruistic. If he could, he would keep as much as possible for his family. The Canela accusation against any people of the region who say they have nothing to give is usually that such people must be hiding what they have. After all, this is what everybody does except the generous person. In the past, a female or male of high standards would place ample provisions at the disposal of others when a festival situation called for this kind of behaviour. The person who believed himself to be generous would under such circumstances supply more than was generally expected. Thus self-image, how a person wants other people to perceive him, is very much a part of the Canela practice of generosity (Crocker 1990:270).

In addition, an emphasis on their "emotional generosity" also manifested and immortalised in many other social practices in Crocker's writings (Crocker 2004). His generalised third person accounts of group social life organised in his monograph were often interrupted by experiences discussed in the first person:

⁵⁸ Fisher's works among another Gê-group, the Xikrin, demonstrates how complementary activities were done by different people on a daily basis, and collective meals were prepared and consumed together (Fisher 2000: 59).

My closest Canela research assistant, the younger Thunder, could not manage his store properly to make a profit from it. Because he was always generous and would not refuse the risk of providing individual credit when the Canela came and asked for it (Crocker 2004:131).

What is important to emphasise here is that numerous photographs from Crocker's collection are particularly illustrative of the community attitude toward generosity and address themes such as food preparation and distribution or other sharing practices, which will be closely considered in the photo-analysis of the Canela Festival of Masks. The study of this archive of photographs helps to illustrate the great Canela generous intimacy they depict, accounting for not just certain key aspects of their everyday life, but for the collective tenor of Canela social life generally. In addition to an emphasis on sharing values and generosity, codes of conduct dominated each and every possible moment of community life. What was interesting was the institutionalised dimension these practices seemed to assume under exceptional circumstances, such as during the celebration known as the Festival of Masks. Interestingly, the important internal network of demanding, giving and sharing was perhaps broadly supported and sanctioned by the institution of 'begging' found in the Festival.

Only on this Festival occasion, did Canela participants (or at least those who dance) disguise themselves with Masks and move through the village as a group, begging all the time, while expecting to receive food from the villagers. Significantly, while begging, the Masks acted out a variety of feelings and emotions, such as compassion and generosity. I will argue that the Festival is mutually important for reinforcing orientations that are promoted in order to drive Canela to put emphasis on sharing. This is one of the reasons why the Canela evaluate avarice, or not sharing, so negatively (Crocker 1990:185). For instance, the Canela were organised and maintained through acts of giving food 'on demand' (Crocker 2004) as a means of establishing solidarity with each other. These practices all helped to create a symbolic link between the individual and the continued collective life of their community.

3.1 The embodied Amerindian community

Crocker's images clearly display how the Canela community is centred on a small village. Like many other communities in Brazil this is a nucleated village⁵⁹ (Iuvaro 2012), in the Cerrado (Figures 3.1 (a / b / c) to 3.2 (c)). With the same level of accuracy applied when depicting the Canela environment, Crocker also took care to photograph all the people living in Escalvado village on every visit, a project which influenced a series of photographs catalogued as 'Census Series'. The visual documentation shows the structure of the Canela circular village of 'perhaps 90 houses of palm-thatch construction' (Crocker 2004). Thus, an ongoing view of the Canela over time was perpetuated.

⁵⁹ cf. Iuvaro's (2012) work with the Central Brazilian's indigenous communities (Terena and Kadiweu).

The viewer is led through a narrative of photographically quantitative information about the Canela way of life ranging from the size of the population each year (Figures 3.5 (a / b / c)) to 3.6 (a / b / c)), to incredibly detailed aspects of their private and public life. For example, the anthropologist depicted in detail each year of his fieldwork, from the way they ate, what was inside their houses (Figures 3.3 (a / b / c) to 3.4 (a / b)), to how people prepared communal meals (Figures 3.9 (c), 3.19 (a)), more intimate moments of their life, such as a funeral (Figures 2 (a / b / c / d)) or child-rearing practices (Figures 3.7 (a / b) and 3.28).⁶⁰ As a result, this series of photographs suggests, “a ‘kinetic’ (Edwards 2001:114), spatially embodied experience of Crocker’s perspective, [in which] we can move our attention across the village amongst the Canela, photographically just as Crocker must have done physically” (Iuvaro 2017:116).⁶¹

While at first glance this photographic collection of quantitative and physical information seems to fit into the contemporary paradigm of social anthropology, the way in which he framed his images (giving us clues to the experiences he had producing them) may be seen as his indices of Canela sociality (Figures 3.5 (a / b / c) to 3.6 (a / b / c)). The community consisted of approximately 400 people between the 1960s and 1970s (Greene and Crocker 1994). Earlier in the 20th century, it was extremely difficult to walk to even the closest urban centre, which was more than five miles away (Crocker 1990). The geography of “the village provides people with a convenient means of imagining inclusiveness” (Jamieson 2000:83). At the same time, community life can be defined, following Kidd and Jamieson (2000), as a well-defined moral universe.

Crocker’s arrangement of images suggests that he clearly possesses a strong interest in the way photographs reflect the structure and sense of intimate space. Life in a Canela community allowed little privacy. While in ‘Western’ folk concepts, we tend to think that ‘private life’ must be kept separate from (what is viewed as) the ‘public sphere of interactions’, communities such as the Canela were a dense network of human relationships and interactions among people

⁶⁰ Care was taken to photograph the interior and exterior of every house around the village circle of Escalvado during every visit. “In addition, such photography (on stills and super-8 film) includes good coverage of farm-oriented topics, hunting and food collecting log racing and the various track sports, child-rearing practices, sharing communal meals and distribution of food. So that studies can be made using the visual evidence of change and acculturation during the years from 1957- to 2011” (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

⁶¹ As Edwards (2001) observes, even the “forensic or evidential level in photographs, implies an enmeshing of the image with other systems” (Edwards 2001:90). Overall, the ‘Census Series’ reveals Crocker’s ideas about Canela community life, but it involves much more than just ‘counting heads’ (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). He writes: “In the late 1950s, I spent much of the noon period running errands for myself, which was usually exhausting but exposed me to many people and to what was going on. When I could break away from errands, my Canela sister or brother’s wife gave me lunch, which was the same as breakfast or dinner: manioc flour with beans and grass tea, rice with chicken bits and oranges, or meat pie (manioc and meat) with bananas and brown sugar (rapadura) tea” (Crocker 1990:26). While Crocker was pursuing the task of recording quantitative information about the Canela village in the Census Series project, his photographs were frequently used to reference activities going on around him and the quotation shows his familiarity with his subjects, and his evident attachment to the local community.

were close and continuous. Given this context, they are inevitably characterised by a high degree of personalization.⁶² The houses were situated in close proximity, sometimes at distances of just a few metres (Figures 3.1 (b / c), so there were very few possibilities for ‘private’ conversations. Similarly, Alès posits that for the Yanomami (Alès 2000), “it is daily repetition (of certain practices) that gives permanence and weight to the relations of mutual care and belongings. The idea is that of being close to, frequenting and visiting; this signifies liking the company of someone and, hence, sharing love and amity” (Alès 2000:141). The photographs in Crocker’s collection show how the Canela relied upon each other in different forms for mutual services and corporate domestic works (Figures 3.9 (c / d), 3.10 (a / b / c), 3.12, 3.19 (a / b), Figures 3.21, 3.22 (a / b), 3.23, 3.24 (a / b)).

3.2 Photographs as histories

A typical day in a Canela village started very early in the morning (Figure 3.14).⁶³ By four-five o’clock in the morning, it became a time of peace and relaxation, and was a time for male sociability and for women to prepare meals in the house and attend to babies and children.

The cooking fires appeared either inside or behind the houses, where the women were responsible for making the communal breakfast meal, which they would distribute over everyone’s plates of dry manioc (Figures 3.15 to 3.16). These daily activities began in the community, after their bathing in the early morning (Figures 3.17 (a / b), 3.18), when the women started to prepare manioc in the back-yard, which is the place where the women cook.⁶⁴ (Figures 3.15 and 3.19 (a)). Meanwhile, kids would be left playing together (Figures 3.26 (a / b)) and the men would go into the forests in groups, hunting and cutting down wood for burning, or work on the farm-plot (Miller 2016).

There are numerous images which depict the sharing of domestic activities, namely cooking fires while warming themselves together, holding babies and the distribution and preparing of meals, or familial relationships linked to the consumption of meals.⁶⁵ All these activities were

⁶² Such a social environment, has been described as ‘largely conducive of informality’ (Iuvaro 2012).

⁶³ Crocker writes: “The day often began at 2:30 am when some youth came to the door of the house to call out the names of my nieces (or daughter depending on the home), who were supposed to go out to the plaza and sing. Then, the troop of adolescents moved on to the next house on the village, singing, their volume alone being enough to wake anyone in the vicinity. Sometimes, I went out at this time to the plaza to dance or socialise, but in later years I seldom did, except to record the morning sing-dance on tape. Another alternative, at about 6:00 am was to go out to the tribal council meeting, and soon after that be called for my breakfast, where we eat all together” (Crocker 1990:21).

⁶⁴ See also Schecter’s collection of footage: Rolls 8-10-20-61, 1979 (Boys swimming).

⁶⁵ Crocker says in 1990: “In my adoptive brother’s house I could watch the socialisation of children practices of my brother’s mother, and later, the practices of his three grown and married daughters with their babies and children. Four generations lived in that house. During my 22-year period with the Canela, I observed some

performed in a ‘democratic and friendly way’ (Schecter’s commentary, Roll 40, 1979). For other Gê-groups, such as the Xikrin, Fisher has noted that the feeling of generalised well-being that results from the consumption of large quantities of food is actually instrumental in creating community (Fisher 2000:123).⁶⁶

Schecter noted how his interest in filming everyone having breakfast was because of the interactions that happened during these consumption practices (Camera Roll 40, 1979).⁶⁷

Looking at those practices was a visual statement of the ways the Canela show their responsibility and attachment toward each other. After waking up this morning, I went to see people of my family that were warming themselves in front of a flaming fire of dried leaves. Most of them at the fire, which was between the big open-sided house and the smaller clay one which they were living in, had just had their morning bath. A woman seemed to be making the communal stew of field rat. I shot this roll because of the time of day and the light, and the particular morning activities. But also the communal stew was a special kind of interaction which I was glad to get because it is such a visual statement of the farm-plot solidarity (Schecter verbal records on footage Roll 40, footage 1979).⁶⁸

The Canela of the Cerrado were more hunter-gatherers than settled farmers before their encounters with the Colonial Empire,⁶⁹ though they cultivated garden food for about twenty percent of their subsistence.⁷⁰ After their resettlements in around 1840 on five percent of their

children mature into adulthood and raise their own children. It was not uncommon to see mothers and daughters raising their similarly aged babies and older children all together” (Crocker 1990:157).

⁶⁶ Previous anthropological accounts (Maybury-Lewis 1979; Crocker 1990; 2004; Fisher 2000) of Gê-people showed how they all share many cultural similarities. The Canela themselves are part of a wider linguistic and cultural tradition that includes a number of other indigenous people classified by linguists as part of the macro-Gê language stock. They were hunters and horticulturalists whose lifestyle often combined both sedentary villagers and seasonal mobility in - what Fisher described “the form of organised treks” (Fisher 2000: 5). Important characteristics are the elaborate social organisation, where all the predominant forms of production and distribution demanded a collective orientation.

⁶⁷ *Film Studies of Traditional Indian Life in Brazil: Canela*, 1979: 39, 540 feet sound colour, archival original. HSFA. These visual materials are stored at the Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Museum, Support Center, in Suitland, Maryland.

⁶⁸ These commentaries and Schecter’s diary notes have never been published. But the author agreed my using them here.

⁶⁹ Topic discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

⁷⁰ It seems possible according to Posey (1994) that Cerrado groups, like the Canela, had at their disposal a variety of tubers that could be gathered for immediate consumption. Flowers also posits how this focus on gathered plant foods (wild species of manioc) “contrasted with tropical forest groups, who collect a great variety of plants for various purposes, but not as dietary staples” (Flowers 1994:278).

former lands, they slowly learnt to practice more extensive agriculture, creating smaller farm-plots, but maintaining their form of collaborative labour.⁷¹

Perhaps, an important aspect of the Canela subsistence remained the extent to which wild plant resources, especially tubers, were exploited (Figures 3.20 (a/b/c)). Tubers, especially manioc, provided a starchy diet for the community (Posey 1994).⁷² They can be considered both an important food for everyday use and also at great ceremonial events, where large quantities of manioc flour, called *farinha*, would be prepared in order to make large meat pies (*farinha* and meat), baked in the ashes of household fires, and then distributed and consumed in the village during the Festivals (as in the Festival of Masks). Fisher has posited how, “earth ovens were constructed by cooperating people who intend to consume food immediately upon its preparation. The earth oven is but one step in a process of ongoing reciprocity” (Fisher 2000:89). The preparation and consumption of manioc were therefore an important aspect of Canela life which can be defined as a form of collective labour.

3.3 Food practices

The processing of manioc has been detailed elsewhere. “Usually the roots were brought in large quantities during late afternoon or at dusk, the fires were lit (or revived) and half the tubers were put over them to boil in a pot while the other half were roasted in the embers” (Flowers 1994:255; Fisher 2000). Then, there are several phases of preparation that preceded the consumption of this staple (Figures 3.22 (a / b), 3.23 to 3.25)).

During Festival season (as in the Festival of Masks), the Canela use large quantities of the manioc flour, to make large meat pies for feasting. It is during ceremonies that the collaborative form of production and distribution of large quantities of food (meat pies) with and among all the villagers takes place, an intense expression of Canela sociality (Figure 3.9 (c / d), 3.10 (a / b), 3.12, 3.13, Figures 4.41 (a / b / c / d)).

Schecter also noted how his interest in filming the making of the meat pies was because:

I saw in it a social arena, a social event. I kept the camera on during all the footage that covers the preparation of food and its distribution. In particular, during the making of the meat pies. The shot tended to be nice family scenes. There was always a lot happening: women were peeling and grating manioc, others were giving advice,

⁷¹ Crocker (1990) posits how all women must maintain their own farms, producing bitter and sweet manioc, rice, corn, beans, yams, sweet potatoes, peanuts, squash and other garden crops.

⁷² Flowers (1994:256) writes: “It appears that edible tubers were most abundant in the Cerrado, that had pronounced wet and dry seasons, since they can survive drought by accumulating starch in their roots or stems during the season of rain and growth”.

playing with children, while men were singing or playing and eating with the youngest (Schechter commentary on Roll 1: 10>3 PM Feet 10-100; 7247; asa 64., (1975)).

Canela livelihood and its moral economy involved great collaboration and mutual interactions, especially with activities that involved the preparation of manioc and the sharing of meals.

Another poignant example is reported by Schechter:

I went over to Augusto's house to film the making of the meat pie which they will present to the elders in the plaza later in the afternoon. It was a nice scene of collaborative work, with the men cutting up the meat and the oldest women overseeing the youngest spreading the manioc on the banana leaves. Many others were watching and giving advice or playing with children. For example, commonly, during food preparation and distribution, the men were also singing or playing with the kids. Then, I framed the camera on Abilio who had taken his grand-daughter on his chest as he lay on a mat, and he was singing to her. This singing is very widespread in daily life, most commonly in mothers singing for their children as they work, or by males after their meals. Singing is an expression of the Canela capacity to generate and express emotion. The singing is their expression of feelings, not so much through the words as through the sound itself: through its soothing, cathartic, sad, and happy interactions. Canela singing has a strong emotional content. The fact that you see Canela singing to kids at a very young age, where they cannot understand the words at all, makes it seem to me that the emotional content is perhaps just as important as anything that the words mean. It is the essence of the tradition in terms of an emotional content that has been passed along here, that it includes all social milieu and social attitudes, very relaxed and gentle, affection of spending time together....[]... Their solidarity is staunch and established, as natural as the rhythm of mortar and pestle or the sifting of manioc for the morning beiju. Emotions are continuous a substance and rhythm of life that the Canela generate, reflect upon and express (Schechter commentary on Roll 1: 12>3 PM Feet 14-100; 7247; asa 67., (1975). (See also Crocker's photographs, Figures 4.41 to 4.45).

In the films the viewer is simply "allowed to observe in silence the constructive virtues of loving care, a sense of purpose, calm equanimity and good humor" (Schechter's commentaries in his diary, 1975, stored at the Human Studies Film Archives). The films and photographs by Crocker and Schechter were therefore an important way to capture the emotional side of the community and its attitude of doing things together for food, allowing us to understand these practices at the level of the individual experiences.

Another good example is Crocker's various portraits which depict the adult male tendency to spend much time of their free time with the children, feeding them or lying on a mat while singing and playing together in a very gentle way (Figures 3.27, 3.28). Sharing comes to be understood as the cornerstone of Canela sociability (Crocker 1994). Distributing meals (manioc) is pivotal in the consolidation of social relationships and references, what Walker has called elsewhere with the Urarina "a productive interaction that generates affective closeness"

(Walker 2009:93). This affective closeness is also clearly seen in Crocker's photography of the Canela which expresses their moral economy of intimacy.

The principle of sharing starts at a very young age, frequently emphasised in the photographs which show the oldest children experimenting with the adult responsibility of making sure their little brothers and sisters were fed (Figures 3.29, 3.30 (a / b)).⁷³ Crocker's images show many interesting imitative and synchronous interactions in the scenes which depicted food activities, and many of them that regard the way children showed tenacity in pursuing an essentially adult economic activity, such as taking great interest in making the fire, cooking the manioc flour, peeling the manioc with sharp knives, but most importantly, helping to feed the youngest brothers and sisters (Figures 3.19 (b), 3.20 (b), 3.21, 3.24 (a / b), 3.29, 3.30 (a / b) and 3.31 (a / b / c)). In the Canela community, the children participated and experienced all the adult activities. This exploratory side of a child's play is the freedom to experiment with adult responsibility. Schechter also shows a few scenes which depicted the kids playing with the staple food, imitating the adult women. He says in camera roll 32 (4:30pm > SR17, 10-100; 7257 (1975).

While the grand-mother of Pacu was grinding manioc at one side of the house, I quickly framed up and started shooting because the little girl, who could not be more than five years old, then took great interest in working on the manioc. I just kept rolling and trying to get a good distribution of coverage. But she was not interested in grating manioc as a woman would have done, but more in testing all the textures and surfaces of the staple food with her fingers and with her mouth... and I kept shooting quite a bit of the kids playing with manioc (Schechter's commentaries, Camera roll 32. 4:30pm > SR17, 10-100; 7257 (1975).

Crocker posited how imitation is a fundamental form of learning how to behave properly. By engaging with 'the expressiveness of photography' it is suggested that most of Crocker's effort has gone into putting the viewer into a particular relationship with a Canela subject and creating a progression of images and scenes for understanding it, much as a musician produces a progression of notes and sequences (Iuvaro 2017:116).⁷⁴ One can argue that in some ways they were inspired to apply visual media to something other than the visible features of culture, such as 'technology' and "as an extension of a process of thought, a way for the filmmaker to explore

⁷³ Similarly, Fisher's work among the Xikrin, describes the importance of "a child's parents indulging the child's social mentor to teach them how they should be generous in giving food to their own parents and mentors when they grow up" (Fisher 2000:123).

⁷⁴ This can be related to the fact that Crocker was mostly following an unfolding series of Canela activities, rather than recording short passages of unrelated events. The images were not made in accordance with a formal script, where Crocker directed the scene and instructed the Canela in what to do; its subjects represented a complex narrative of Canela life unfolding systematically over a long period of time (Iuvaro 2017).

a subject and for the viewer to follow that exploration” (Jacknis 1988:523). The anthropologist was able to transmit to us a highly sentimentalised view of Canela community life.

This group of images vividly captured the joy and playfulness of family interaction that took place around food preparation and consumption; all those actions captured by the camera were marks of attention, affection and, as suggested by Catherine Alés (2000) for the Yanomami, they are “constructive of everyday life, sociality and conviviality” (Alés 2000:136). They literally made visible an anthropological exploration of Canela social and belief systems. It was through my understanding of Crocker’s work that I came to see how Canela people paid considerable attention to how to live a ‘good’, ‘harmonious’ and ‘companionable life’. ‘Living well’ for the Canela meant ‘to be generous’ and ‘to be generous’ meant to ‘share’ food, possessions and other services with others. As elsewhere expressed by Fisher for the Xikrin, and which is also valid for the Canela, “cooperation is seen as simply a natural consequence of the feeling of well-being induced by food. When people labour, sing, or dance in exchange for a meal, they profess to do so out of a sense of the well-being that their performance is meant to express and spread” (Fisher 2000:123).

Sharing values and generous modes of conduct essentially expressed an important social concept. Using Stephen Kidd’s insights among the Enxet, it can be said that by developing generous attitudes, the Canela similarly “learned how to relate to others in appropriate and sociable manners” (Kidd 2000:115).

Looking at the everyday Canela practices depicted in Crocker’s images and in Schechter’s footage helped me to visualise a definite system of division of functions and a system of mutual relationships into which a sense of duty and the recognition of the need for co-operation, entered side by side with a realisation of self-interest, privileges and benefits.⁷⁵ For example, exchanges of food among the Canela established a system of sociological ties of an economic nature, often combined with other ties between individuals, kinship groups and non-kinship groups (Crocker 2004). An example of this is found in Schechter’s commentary about the Canela sharing distribution of food during a funeral (Figure 3.13). He comments:

A man died out at Pedro Gregorio’s farm plot. He had had bad diarrhea just a few days earlier, and died from dehydration. In this scene, all relatives and friends are reunited and sit outside the mourning room waiting to receive a piece of meat pie, after the intense grief has finished. The emotion this morning was very intense when the body was brought into the village, and I had trouble shooting anything more than simple shots. It was very crowded in the room with the closest relatives crouched on top of

⁷⁵ For example, according to Crocker requests for food were made spontaneously on a daily basis (Crocker 1990, 2004).

him mourning. It was a shoot, I will not forget” (Schechter commentary to Camera Roll 45, Footage 400, 1979).

This comment contrasts interestingly with Crocker’s shots taken years earlier of *Tekura*’s funeral where the anthropologist, because of his more intense familiarity with the group, was able to capture the rite more intensively. The filmmaker, Schechter, then goes on to comment how instead of focusing on shooting the mourning and grief of the Canela relatives, he decided to shoot what was happening outside the mourning room, later on in the afternoon.

The Canela, women, children and men were all waiting for a small part of the distributed food. They formed a circle with the food in the middle. The food to be re-distributed among the group consisted of manioc flour (*farinha*) with beans, oranges, rice with chicken bits and meat pies (*farinha* and meat). I started to film the children’s reaction to the distribution of the meat pies because of the emotional content involved. There is a sort of tension with everyone wondering how big their share will be. The shares differ according to the relative’s distance and closeness in kin to the deceased. The younger children do not really participate in that dimension of the event, and they are not really aware of the tension, certainly not to the same degree as the adults are, and they act as uncommitted messengers. They just go up, get the piece of meat pie and bring it to their family. I followed with the camera how a boy goes to the middle to bring a piece of meat pie to his mother, and how she takes this portion from his hands and divides this smaller piece with him again and then he again shares his smaller part with his youngest brother. And when I turned around, the same scene was happening among the other groups reunited. For example, a child of five years old offered his big piece of meat pie to his youngest brothers, and from them the mother took a piece and also gave him a portion. Naturally, following the children’s movement, I realised how all these pieces of meat were passed from one to the next. These different transactions of food reveal an interesting pattern of generosity among the group (Schechter commentary to Camera Roll 45, Footage 400, 1979).

In connection with this system of food distribution and sharing we are met by order, definite privileges and a well developed system of trust. Furthermore, Canela alliance networks, as seen in Crocker’s archive of images and in Schechter’s footage, manifested not only in the exchange of meat and vegetables. The Canela relied upon each other in other forms of trading and other mutual services as well, such as raising children and corporate domestic work.⁷⁶ Thus, there

⁷⁶ Crocker writes “At the time of my adoption in 1957, my adoptive sister Waterfall’s (31 years) energy and goodwill seemed inexhaustible to me. She was responsible to organise the women to carry out the domestic chores. In my adoptive sister’s house (of two-room house of palm straw) there were living Waterfall and her husband Macaw’s Bones (41), Waterfall’s sister Ha-pô (29), she was unmarried, Waterfall’s first cousin (‘her sister’), Amyi-yakhop (22) and her husband Khen-yawên (35), and Waterfall’s daughter, Hiipôh-tsen. The Waterfall supervisor duties were to ensure that everyone would be fed, raising children and keeping good morals. The uncles often can help their sisters discipline and socialise their children” (Crocker 2004:48). The man’s duty, according

are important reinforcing motives that drive the Canela to put pressure on sharing. ‘Mutual help’ was then used to discourage exceptional individual performance on the grounds that they can only take place at the expense of other members and of the cohesiveness of the group (Platteau and Abraham 1994:211). It should be remembered that several Brazilian societies put greater stress on non-kin relationships, and also this network of alliances with non-kin has an important social aspect, not only for the formal distribution of food to the entire village (Maybury-Lewis 1979; Flowers 1994). Crocker posits that the meat preparation was centralised and controlled by the men, especially the elders.⁷⁷ When the men returned after a hunt, they would deposit meat in a pile to be cooked in an oven or roasted over a fire tended by elders. Once cooked the meat would be distributed, and, although the hunter and his kin were assured a healthy part of the kill, generosity was encouraged by the elders. There must be some left for the non-kin who would come and beg for it the next day (Crocker 1990).

The existence of these social networks in indigenous communities, whose characteristic aspect was that exchange was not centred on one individual but practiced by all members of that network alike was crucial for the survival of the community as a whole. The system of exchange based on these social networks (kin and non-kin solidarities) acted as an informal security system that ensured survival under the state of insecurity (Iuvaro 2012).⁷⁸

“Generosity” (Ewart 2013:40) in this case is considered to be an important moral principle. Ewart (2013) notes for the Panará, that “the moral importance of generosity must be actively invoked in order to persuade others to give freely. A good person should be seen to be passing food on, rather than retaining and accumulating it” (Ewart 2013:40). The power of the demand, in ‘demand sharing’ (Ewart 2013) was then explicitly emphasised among the Canela. We can say like Ewart, that “to give freely is part of the extension of care that characterises proper social relations among humans” (Ewart 2013:40).

In addition to an emphasis on sharing values and codes of conduct in ordinary life, these also occurred in exceptional circumstances, such as, in the course of the Festival of Masks. This was a privileged occasion during which social norms and values stressing the collective good and the necessity for the individual to sacrifice his own self-interest for the benefit of the

to the anthropologist, was to provide meat for the household and Crocker writes how Macaw’s Bones was one of the tribe’s great hunters (Crocker 2004:48).

⁷⁷ Fisher (2000) highlights the importance among the Xikrin, of group collective exchanges of food on a daily basis so that each person might enjoy a complete diet (Fisher 2000:57). The author describes how in the past, old people organised the predominant forms of production and distribution. “By taking charge of cooking, and distribution of meat, the older people played a dual role, as peace makers and as food distributors” (Fisher 2000:57).

⁷⁸ Iuvaro, Fabiola. 2012. O papel das Instituições Informais no Desenvolvimento de Projetos de geração de renda em comunidades indígenas Kadiweu and Terena, em Mato Grosso do Sul, Central-Brazil. (Solidarity Norms and Informal Institutions in Central Brazilian indigenous communities, Kadiweu and Terena: Participatory development projects). Campo Grande, Brazil, Universidade Católica Dom Bosco.

community, were emphasised and intensely felt through dances, songs in unison and the sharing of abundant food and drink. Unity and harmony of the group were strongly asserted and celebrated in the Festival of Masks (topic discussed in Chapters Four to Seven). Fisher (2000) explained how there is a close association between food, sociality, the role of collective feedings (such as consuming communal meals or the serving of food) and ritual meals among Gê-people. More generally, previous anthropological accounts of other Gê-speakers, (like the Canela), have all emphasised how these groups are well known for their notable features, such as their circular village forms, their elaborate social egalitarian organisation, “where every boy’s education continues to include admonitions not to fight over the distribution of meat; and their use of rituals to create differently endowed ceremonial persons within an overall framework of material equality” (Fisher 2000:5).

The following chapters will detail how, during the Festival, all participants were called upon to manifest regularly and openly their concern for the collective good and their desire to contribute to it. Chapters Five to Seven will detail the ways that begging (for food) using the Masks and how different dramatic acts during the Canela Masks Festival form the basis for the construction of subjectivity and personhood in a Canela individual.

Chapter Four will start to provide an overview of the Mask’s formal description and of the general description of the ceremony.

Chapter Four: The Festival of Masks: form and activities

“The agency and authorship of the dancer should be of primary concern if the dance is to fulfil its promise as a way of knowing and being” (Robert Wood 1948:103).

Chapters Four to Seven focus on the visual archives (written notes, photos and footage) and the two objects (Masks) that Crocker brought out from the Festival in 1970, and that today are housed at the offsite storage of the Smithsonian Institution in Suitland, in Maryland.⁷⁹ This Chapter provides an overview of the Mask’s formal descriptions and the Festival system. It concentrates on what archive sources, both textual and visual, reveal about the general description of the Festival of Masks. Chapters Four to Seven will then focus more specifically upon a quality analysis of the Masks, and how they engendered social relations and identity. Much of this information, namely the material relating to Masks, the ceremonial and detailed aspects of them, is largely unpublished (Figure 4.1).⁸⁰ Thus, the sources presented here consist largely of Crocker’s ethnographic data obtained in the form of his personal written notes and photo recordings. This material is compared with the archive collection of films which offers the possibility to present a more comprehensive view of the Festival.

Especially notable for the purpose of this research was the film about the Festival of the Masks shot in 1970 recorded by W. Crocker in collaboration with Ray Brown (Figure 4.2). Also of note were two 16mm film projects shot in 1960 and 1964 about the Canela festive occasions (as shown in the layout of Crocker’s film collection in Figure 4.4), which included scenes very briefly depicting the Mask performance among other festivals (a total of four rolls of more than two hours), which establish how the Festival of Masks was traditionally celebrated until the 1970 event. However, because of the short length of the clips from the Festivals in 1960 and 1964, it was not possible to discern major differences between the three times that the Festival was recorded. These shorter clips concentrated more on other Festival occasions, while the 1970 films were dedicated exclusively to the Festival of Masks. However, from the annotations Crocker left in his field notes, highlighted during this chapter, a few changes could be identified, which occurred in the celebration of the Festival over the period between 1960 to 1970. In addition, the photographs of the ceremony made respectively in 1960, 1964 and in 1970 were examined.

⁷⁹ The offsite storage of the Smithsonian Institution in Suitland, Maryland houses only two Masks, collected by Crocker (most of the original collection of artifacts have been sent to the Museu Goeldi in Belém, Brazil). The Museum Support Center (MSC) is a collections storage and conservation facility which houses Smithsonian collections which are not on display in the museums. The Smithsonian has all Crocker's photo collection about the Canela's life.

⁸⁰ Dr. Crocker agreed to let me use his personal collection of written notes.

The archivist Mark White indicated that the rolls of film about the Festival showed a yellow label, indicating that they were conserved in the Archive at the Smithsonian for a period of over 35 years, and mainly remained untouched (M. White, interview, 2015) (Figure 4.3). But the rolls of film appear to have been stored well over the years and showed only minimal signs of wear and aging, probably because of careful handling and minimal use. There were no indications of acetate deterioration in the film material (M. White, interview, 2016).

4.1 A general overview of the Festival

The Wè tè season was the time for one of the Great Festivals (the Festival of Masks).⁸¹ Nimuendajú (1946:201–212) called the fifth Wè tè season festival, the ‘*Mummers Festival*’. For simplification, Crocker called it the Festival of Masks, as the Canela had reported it to him in Portuguese in 1970, ‘*A Festa das Máscaras*’ (Crocker 1990:100). The Festival of Masks began in April or May during the late spring or early summer of the Western calendar year and ended in the late summer, with the abating of heavy rains and harvesting (Nimuendajú 1946; Crocker 1990).⁸² Historical accounts (Flowers 1994; Crocker 2004) posit how aggregation of nomadic hunter-gatherers among the Timbira groups, as well as the Canela, at this particular time of year corresponded with important ceremonial occasions.⁸³ Accordingly, festivals provided settings for ample recreation in the form of athletics, social dancing and extra-marital sex (W. Crocker, interview, 2015).⁸⁴ They were also events when substantial quantities of food were redistributed among the group. More importantly, the festivals reinforced behavioural norms in Canela culture (Crocker 1990), with most villagers watching the performances in the plaza.

⁸¹ The Wè tè season was the time for one of the Great Festivals that commenced in late March and ended in October. There were five great summer festivals in total. The other four were: the Khee-tuwaye, Pepye, Pepkahak, and Fish festivals (Crocker 1990:100). Accordingly: “the two festivals, the Kheetuwaye and Pepye, enculturated boys and youths into adult groups. The Pepkahak, festival (like the Khee- tuwaye and Pepye), reinforced in adults certain maturing practices experienced and learned in the two initiation festivals. The Pepkahak and the Fish festivals served as an arena for manifesting and sanctioning honoured ceremonial roles” (Crocker 1990:100).

⁸² Flowers (1994) placed the Brazilian Cerrado in the Intermediate Tropical or Savannah Zone, which she defined according to the length of the dry season.

⁸³ In particular game drives were held after the harvest, and as Maybury-Lewis (1979) noted, were usually held in conjunction with ceremonies, with formal distribution of meat to the entire village.

⁸⁴ For a detailed explanation of the extramarital system see Crocker’s monograph (1990).

4.2 Brief overview of the Festival phases

According to Crocker the Festival had a strong sequential and diachronic structure.

- (1) an opening part of two to three days with acts which stressed the principal theme;
- (2) a middle part of a few weeks with several interspersed ceremonial acts, followed by nocturnal singing by the principal group involved;
- (3) the hunting phase (which provided and prepared meat for the terminal phase), and;
- (4) a terminal part of one to two weeks of great performances with several interspersed ceremonial days called '*great days*', characterised by over-exaggerated expressions of generosity, compassion, shame and anger dramatised by the Masks.

In the Festival of Masks, festival activities took place each morning directly after the council had finished its meeting. Crocker (1990) points out that all of the festivals shared the characteristic of one to four 'great days' (*dias grandes* in Portuguese, and in Canela: *amkrokati*), which usually required considerable preparation and expense on the part of the principals, and special performances by the designated male group (Crocker 1990:276). After these performative acts, 'high drama gave way to low comedy', including extramarital sexual intercourse arranged within the context of the Festival (Crocker 1990:276).

4.3 A description of the Masks' forms and preparation

Analysis, in this section, focuses on the contents of Crocker's film collection shot in the 1970 in collaboration with Ray Brown, together with the associated archival visual and written documentation and the study of the two Masks (objects) housed at the Smithsonian in Maryland and also on the photographic records made by the anthropologist in 1960, 1964 and in 1970 respectively, about the ceremony.

All the Masks are composed of two woven mats parallel to each other, and range between five to six feet tall and approximately three feet wide. They are made primarily from the materials of the *anajá* palm trees or *buriti* palm trees that are grown locally. The strands of the lower part of the Mask are made from *olho de buriti*- the fresh internal stalks of the *anajá* or *buriti* palm tree, the young sprouts, reaching the ground to form a skirt (Figure 4.5). The upper part is made like a woven mat (Figure 4.6). This is known as the 'Face of the Mask', which features a shape similar to a 'W'. Figure 4.6 shows how the 'Face of the Mask' is woven, "in both directions – such movements were: over two and under two, over two and under two" and the tessellating pattern was formed" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

Crocker revealed an additional, interesting aspect of its making in his unpublished written notes. These personal notes do not mention a specific year of the Festival but cover a period between 1960 and 1970; they also make few references to an earlier time. In the notes, he relates how the person who started the weaving of the first Mask was always one who knew

how to do it well. He continued saying how everybody watched this skilled man to see that he did it well. Crocker made it clear that there could be no mistakes in the making of the first Mask (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). In the 1960 Festival of Masks, one of his research assistants, João Ludugeiro, told him that all the Masks were fabricated by the members of the Masks society in a shed outside the village, located near a stream where the Canela could find the palm trees necessary to make them. But Crocker reports how by 1970 the Canela made the Masks in an isolated part of the village and in the farms as well. According to João Ludugeiro, this was wrong. Crocker says he told him that everything was done in such a rushed manner these days. Crocker clarified that in 1970, wherever the Masks were made, they all had to be brought together in a special shed, before the start of the procession. The shed in the 1970 event was located in the village (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

The bar, shown in the close-up (4.21) shows how the two mats that form the Mask were held up and fixed together by a wooden bar about three feet long and 1.5 inches in diameter. In addition, the wearer of the Masks supported them with the help of the ‘donut’ (Figure 4.23) held on their head. The height of all the Masks depended on that of the adult and on the size of the ‘donut’ of palm straw he wore on his head.

Interestingly, the close-up in Figure 4.22 shows the vertical slits made in the centre of the ‘Face of the Mask’, which are critical for the masker to appear, eat and show emotions during the performance.

In addition, all the Masks have horns, made of wood (Figure 4.19). The Masks also have a back side which was painted mainly with black material (Figure 4.20). The horns were used by the women of the village during the Festival for two functions: firstly, to spear pieces of meat for the Masks to distribute to the community’s members during the Festival, and secondly, to identify each Mask by tying on a piece of cloth, as displayed on the other side of the Mask’s horn in the same image (Figure 4.19). According to Crocker’s notes, each woman of the village tied a piece of her clothing to her Mask but he observes how in the 1960s and 1970 Festival celebrations the Canela tied a piece of any clothing, whereas in the old days [I assume here Crocker was referring to the 1960s, when he first saw the Festival], the women put fresh bands of *lõn.le-yõl*, fresh cotton, on the horns of the Masks, which was green at first and, when it dried, became white (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

All the Masks appear to have different paintings depicted on their ‘Faces’. Crocker’s notes specify how the colour black was used to depict the eyes of the Mask using carbon from burned wood mixed with white ‘pau de leite’ plant⁸⁵ (Figure 4.7 and Table 1.1).

⁸⁵ In the 1964 notes, the anthropologist reveals how a research assistant, called Sabino told him that in earlier times (Sabino meant earlier than 1964) the members of the Masks’ society painted black paint [carbon on pau de leite] on their bodies as well, but that they did not do that this year (Sabino meant in 1964 when he told this story to Dr. Crocker), because everything had been done in such a rushed manner. Crocker reports how Sabino told him also that in previous years (he meant in the 1960 or earlier) the Masks’ society members used to wear wristbands

In the 1970, according to the anthropologist's notes there were 24 Masks displayed in the Festival in all: 6 *Espora*, (Figures 4.8 and 4.9) 2 *Khen-pey*, (Figures 4.10 and 4.11), 8 *To-kaywew-re*, (Figures 4.16 and 4.17) 2 little *Bad Mask* (Figures 4.12 and 4.13), 3 *Khen-pey-zoopahhi* (Figure 4.18), and 3 *Mekla-tam-Tuwa* (Figure 4.14 and 4.15).

The two Masks housed in the facility in Maryland are called *Espora* and *Khen-pey* (Figures 4.8 and 4.11).

During the Festival, the Canela perceived and treated these moving Masks as little creatures who were more like children than adults (Crocker 1990). There were six different kinds of Masks identified by Crocker. The *Khen-pey*, as the Masker's leader, always behaved in a dignified manner and moved around slowly. In contrast, the '*To-kaywew-re*' and '*Espora*' always danced and moved around, begging for food from the villagers while performing bodily gestures that signalled emotions, namely compassion and shame. The little *Bad Mask* on the other hand did things the wrong way (W. Crocker, interview, 2017).

While the *Khen-pey* always moved around slowly, the *To-kaywew-re* and *Espora* were always move lively and moved faster. Interestingly, Crocker noted in his diary that the word for *Espora* in English is 'spur' [which he translated as 'what one does to a horse to make it go faster'] (W. Crocker, interview, 2017). According to Crocker, there was nothing sacred or greatly symbolic about the materials of the Masks, or of the Masks themselves (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

4.4 General movements of the Masks

The main theme of the Festival was performed when the Masks arrived in the village and spent much time begging from the villagers, expecting to receive food which they then re-distributed to all the members of the village. These little creatures beg very frequently over the course of the festival, and begging is their principal activity (Figures 4.24 to 4.26 and 4.46). In addition, all the Masks dance and move around in the 'boulevard' (pathway), "playing jokes on each other and having a great time" (Crocker 1990:277).

Begging behaviour is observed especially in the 1970 Festival of Masks, when the 'Face of the Mask' can be seen jerking outward and upward. As can be seen on the left side of Figure 4.46, the wearer of the Mask looked through the slits in the 'Face of the Mask' and manipulated its edges by pulling and pushing, also shown on the photographs taken by Crocker in the 1960s and in particular, 1964 (Figure 4.25 and 4.26).

of buriti bast, but that they did not do this now either because they did not have enough 'lâm' = resin. These two activities, namely painting black paint on their bodies and wearing wristbands of buriti bast were also not done in the 1970 celebration, as reported subsequently by Crocker's notes.

In addition, the act of asking for food was also performed by the Mask when they tried to enter the villagers' houses sequentially, while 'dancing' (Figures 4.27 (a / b / c / d)). Crocker's script about the Masks highlights:

A feat the Masks try to perfect is entering a house door sideways, one horn after the other, without spearing the doorpost or the thatch around the door with a horn. They try to accomplish this feat faster and faster and vie with each other in the eyes of the watching villagers for the most skilled performance. Running across the boulevard up to the house chosen for the contest, they dip the leading horn in time to enter the door, and they lower the rear horn in time to avoid tearing the thatch (Crocker 2004: 84).

Accordingly, each Mask sequentially tried entering through the door several times until he succeeded in getting his horn through it. The last one who tried doing it was the little *Bad Mask*, who fell again and again, his horn getting stuck in the thatch of the house or in the door's post (Figures 4.27 (c / d)). "The crowd roared and went wild when a Mask missed, piercing a house wall or splintering a horn" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

The act of trying to enter the door by the Masks was described in the Canela language as: "*mẽ hô akjêj xà* = the Masks went-in occasion and entered-a-door" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). (Figures 4.27 (a / b / c / d)).

More specifically, the film shot in 1970 shows how the *To-kaywew-re-* and the *Espora* ran through a low and narrow doorway, one after another, ducking the front pole to enter and lowering the back one when inside, demonstrating great skill (Figure 4. 27 (b)). The difficulty in this last act was that each Mask had 'horns'. These were pointed poles made of purple wood which would pierce any person in the way (Figure 4.19). The feet were the only human part of the body visible to the villagers, "except for an occasional glimpse of an eye or nose as the man inside the Mask slightly parts the opening to see what is going on" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). As highlighted previously, the Mask users were able to perform skilled movements while inside their Masks, and looked through vertical slits made in the front and centre part called 'Faces of the Masks' (Figure 4.22).

4.5 Council meetings

For any one of the five great Wè tè season festivals, the opening period lasted two to four days, depending on the particular festival. The special male group of the festival was designated and set apart from the rest of the society. Membership of the Society of Masks was passed on from naming-uncle to named-nephew. As elsewhere highlighted by Crocker (1990), the naming-uncle had a very important role in providing advice on the behaviour necessary to raise a child. He also instructed his nephew in his ceremonial roles. According to Crocker's personal written notes, before the beginning of the Festival there were very important meetings between the Canela performers and the members of the Council of Elders. The Festival in fact lasted several weeks and was constituted by different phases and performative events involving a number of traditional acts performed by the Masks. At this meeting, the Member's group had the function

of remembering and assigning roles to each performer and instructing them on how to carry them out. Some of the performers had more than one role so the members clarified their function.

The Festival then started with an opening period in which the theme of the festival was presented and the festive groups designated. The Festival started officially with the elders of the community singing a particular song for the occasion. “When everybody heard this song, they knew that the elders were about to put on the Festival of Masks” (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). The song was about collecting *imbira* (Brazilian palm tree fronds), which was precisely what some of the Elders then proceeded to do. There they would make the ‘life-size Masks’ from the *imbira* material of these trees. The Festival was held throughout the whole village, but primarily in the men's area, the plaza in the centre of the village. The Festival then started when all the Masks arrived in the village and performed a number of highly performative acts while begging all the time from the villagers (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). The little *Bad Mask* went through the village first. This can be seen as a ‘clown Mask’. Once in the village, little *Bad Mask* stopped before all the houses to tell the dwellers that others like him were coming. This Mask can be seen in Figures 4.13. According to Crocker’s personal written notes (2017), little *Bad Mask* trotted down the broad connecting street to the boulevard of the village. When all the Masks came dancing into view from the village (Figures 4.28, 4.29, 4.30), the women gathered at the junction of the street and the pathways. “The women could not wait, so they rushed out to meet the arriving column of Masks” (W. Crocker, interview, 2016) (Figures 4.31 and 4.32). Then, the Festival took shape when the Masks arrived in the village and a number of traditional acts were performed.

Just as the Masks entered the village, or even before, the Masks were surrounded by the women who were designated as their ‘mothers’⁸⁶. For the whole duration of the Festival, these female–ritual parents must feed and give bath to the Masks. Then, their ritualistic ‘mothers’ received them, tying on little horn ornaments, beads, or cloth in order to identify their Masks (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

Once adorned by the women, (Figures 4.33 (a / b)), the Masks went in single file along the pathways to their shed, and started ‘running’ and dancing around together (as can be seen in Figures 4.34 (a / b) and 4.35).

4.6 The middle part of the Festival

During the Festival, the Masks employed a complex range of multisensory skills to achieve their precise coordination of action. In this first part of the Festival, the action of moving around

⁸⁶ For a detailed description of the ‘ritual mother’ see Chapter Six.

in the village was explored for speed and directional possibility (Figures 4.34 (a / b) and Figure 4.35)). Crocker noted how the Masks left their shed and marched counter-clockwise around the village circle (a broad street (Figure 3.1 (b) connecting the shed to the village) before returning. They repeated these sequences a few times, with many of the inhabitants accompanying them. On subsequent occasions, they moved around the pathways from their lodge dancing counter-clockwise, stopping in front of every sixth house on their way round (Figure 4.35).

They marched in a block formation with the leading Masks – *Khen-pey* facing along the pathways and the houses on the right. More specifically, the Masks went in single file from their shed in the village, down radial pathways across to the plaza and down the opposing radial pathway. They moved along these pathways counter-clockwise past several pathways, crossing the plaza, and up another pathway back to their shed.⁸⁷ They kept doing this, but used a different radial pathway each time until all the villagers's pathways (and the fronts of each family's house) had been traversed. This pattern of crossing the plaza, going along the pathways, and going across the plaza again in many different ways was called "splitting the plaza" (in Canela language *kàà kookhyê*: plaza split) (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). (Topic discussed in more details in Chapter Seven). Then, towards the late afternoon, the Masks went to the homes of their 'mothers' from where they all brought food out to the Elders in the plaza. After that, the Masks brought out more food from their 'mothers's' homes, but this time they took it to their lodge where they ate it together. The Masks all had baskets inside their Masks to carry and keep the food given by the women, principally meat, or they had little spears (horns) on which people could impale food for them (Figure 4.36).

In the middle part of the Festival, Crocker points out how the Elders of the village ordered the wood piles of the two ovens to be set on fire. One of the ovens was located between radial pathways half way to the plaza in line with the house of the first leader of the tribe. The other oven was similarly placed but in line with the house of the second leader of the tribe (Figure 4.37).

Meat pies (made from manioc flour, called *farinha*, and meat) (Figures 4.41 (a / b / c / d / e / f / g / h) to Figures 4.45 (a / b / c / d / e / f / g / h / I / l / j / k / k / l / m)) were cooked on the hot rocks of the ovens (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). Crocker posits how the tribal leaders referred to were the two political leaders of the tribe, who led activities outside of festival time. "The *Pro-khamma* led activities during festival time, though the tribal leaders butted in to assist often enough, but festival time in theory was the responsibility of the leading age class of the *Pro-khamma*" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

⁸⁷ One of the Masks' duties involved traversing these radial pathways all together, repeated a number of times day and night, and then returning to the starting point, their shed. More precisely, the Masks never accessed the houses of the villagers via the circular path.

Then, during the middle part of the evening, the Masks came out of their shed and went to the oven near the house of the first leader. They circled and then walked under the smoke of this oven, following it wherever it led them. After this, they moved to the next oven in front of the house of the second leader of the tribe and circled around it. Then they moved along under the smoke, following this wherever it led them (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

In the meantime, each family of the village put a small bonfire in the pathway in front of their house during the early evening darkness. Then, a few Masks came out from their shed and went along the pathways to see if there were indeed bonfires set before the village houses. Upon seeing that this was the case, they ducked their left horns to show they had seen this signal, the *To-kaywew-re* rushed out and tried as hard as it could to put the fires out, by swishing its skirt over and across each bonfire (W. Crocker, interview, 2016) (Figures 4.38 (a / b) to 4.39 (a / b / c)). Subsequently, the Masks all came out of their shed in a single file and followed the leader of the *To-kaywew-re*, the *Khen-pey* Mask. They moved slowly around the pathways three times counter-clockwise swishing out the bonfires. Despite their efforts, the house owners kept replenishing their fires so that the Masks could not succeed. Once they were back in their lodge the men took off their Masks and left them there. Then, they went down to the stream to bathe and returned to eat and rest (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

4.7 The terminal part of the Festival

The terminal phase of the Festival lasted a few weeks. For this relatively long period of time, enough meat pies had to be cooked (Figures from 4.41 (a / b / c / d / e / f / g / h), to 4.45 (a / b / c / d / e / f / g / h / I / l / j / k / l / m)), so that everybody in the village could pass the time enjoyably, eating as much meat as they desired. For the Mask's celebration in 1970, the group did not go hunting but they gave Crocker permission to buy the cows that provided the meat cooked for the Festival, as a way of showing his appreciation for the freedom to film them during the Festival (Crocker 1990).

In earlier times (I supposed here the anthropologist is referring to the 1960s), Crocker writes how in preparation, men's groups spread out in different directions to go hunting for two or three weeks to accumulate enough meat to last over the required period (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). This occurred at the same time that the women in the village prepared manioc flour in order to make the meat pies for distribution during the Festival. In addition, a few female associates were designated by the chief to go out with the group opposite from their husbands, which meant that these women would be away from their husbands for two to three weeks. Each day, while the men hunted, these women stayed in camp and tended game collected on earlier days. Sexual relations were prohibited on the evenings of hunting days as it was thought that sex would bring bad luck to the hunt. However, on the night before returning to the village, when hunting had been completed, sexual relations did occur with the women who had been cooking the meat (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). In the morning, the troop marched back to the village and entered in single file. "Each person was loaded with the blackened meat which they carried in fresh green baskets made of *buriti* palm fronds" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016).

This allows everybody to eat well and have a good time without doing much daily maintenance work.

4.8 The ‘great days of the Mask’s dance

The end part of the Festival occupies a central position in both the Festival and this study and Crocker provided his most detailed and accurate sets of documents for this phase.

At the start, a grand parade of all Masks was staged. They marched in, in a single file with great dignity (Crocker 1990:276) and on this occasion, the Masks represented a set of different personality traits that they had assumed while performing in the village (W. Crocker, interview, 2016), as shown in Figures 4.46, 4.47, 4.48, 4.49 and Figures 4.50 to 4.53.

Then, all the Masks arrived in the village and performed a series of acts while “begging from the villagers” (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). When the Masks ‘wanted food’, they manipulated their Faces to show begging, repeated jerking of face slits, up and out impatiently, thrusting up the lower facial edges and grunting, as can be seen in Figure 4.46. When a piece of food was put on the stick extended through their Mask they brought it inside their Mask and grunted delightfully to express appreciation and a friendly joyfulness in personal relationship, and then danced around with glee as can be seen in Figure 4.47.

While their main activity was “begging” for food from the villagers, (*a-nã wè*: repeated jerking of face slits, up and out impatiently) (Crocker 1990:277), the Masks also carried out other important traditional functions, which represented the Mask’s bodily emotional responses to the participant’s responses to their requests for food.

Specific body and facial Mask movements are very significant in order to understand the performance. Despite being delighted when a piece of food was put on their stick (Figure 4.47), anger was also shown if they were ashamed by a refusal to give food, as they would “act enraged and threaten the offender with their horns” (W. Crocker, interview, 2015).

One of the most important postures indicated shame, as can be seen in Figure 4.48. If they were ashamed by a refusal to grant them food, the masker lowered the head of the Mask. Shame is shown as the Mask makes slow, reserved movements, withering and bowing in a depressive manner. Another important posture indicated compassion with the head bowed to the ground, backing away (Figure 4.49). Masks did not speak, but each type had its own way of grunting. Crocker’s photographic plates (Figures 4.46, 4.47, 4.48 and 4.49) show how the Masks represented specific characters or personalities to be performed in the Festival. Towards the end of the Festival the performance gave way to low comedy. The little *Bad Mask* ran about trying to steal things from the villagers.

If a woman of a house is not sufficiently watchful to catch him, he may do something ‘careless’ to attract her attention, such as – knocking over a water gourd. Once the woman sees him, she gives chase, screaming at little Bad Mask, who tries repeatedly

to attempt a theft and to receive a scolding” much to the amusement of the villagers (W. Crocker, interview, 2015).

Meanwhile, according to Crocker’s notes, the unmasked men were busy opening the two ovens and retrieving the meat pies previously cooked by the women, and took them to the plaza.⁸⁸ They piled up their pies in front of the house of the leaders, where all the villagers had a chance to have a portion. Then, after an afternoon dance in the plaza, the Masks went to their ‘mothers’s’ houses twice and brought back more food in the plaza. At the end of the festival, members left their Masks with their ‘mothers’ and they “spent time with the other villagers eating the meat pies as they desire” (W. Crocker, interview, 2015). Interestingly, Crocker’s notes of the mid-1960s also reported how at that time, when the Festival ended the ‘mothers’ removed their ‘sons’ Masks’ and poured water on them. The mothers then took the Masks home as their own. One is tempted to suggest that this is in keeping with reciprocal exchanges for food and attention.

4.9 Brief resumé of the Festival’s events

The most important sequences of the Festival can be summarised here. The Festival started when all the Masks came together into the village from their shed and were surrounded by women who were their ‘ritual mothers’. For the whole duration of the Festival, these women must feed and bathe the Masks, as if caring for young children. An important part of the ceremony was occupied by the begging activities dramatised by the Masks, which is shown by the masker when he wants food, as he manipulates and moves the slits in the face of the Mask from inside, with his hands to signify begging. In addition, the act of asking for food was also performed by the Masks when they tried to enter villagers’ houses, while running through low and narrow doorways, one after another, ducking the front pole to enter and lowering the back one once inside. The middle part of the Festival is the time when the Masks start running and dancing together along specific pathways of the village. Their movements consisted of entering the village, marching in a block formation with the leading Masks, *Khen-pey*, facing along the pathways and the houses on the right. They moved around the pathways from their shed dancing counter-clockwise, stopping in front of the villager houses on their way round. They kept doing this, but used a different radial pathway each time until all the village’s pathways (and the fronts of each family’s house) had been traversed. They repeated these sequences a few times. In addition, during this part of the ceremony, each family of the village was required to light a small bonfire on the pathway in front of their house during the early evening. During this part of the ceremony, the main duty of Masks was to come along these pathways and to pretend to put out these fires, by moving in line slowly around the pathways several times counter-clockwise swishing their skirts over and across each bonfire. Despite their efforts, the house owners kept replenishing their bonfires so that the Masks could not succeed.

⁸⁸ The two ovens were prepared during the middle part of the Festival.

In the final part of the Festival there were several interspersed ceremonial ‘great days’ where the Masks performed over-exaggerated expressions: compassion, shame, begging. At the end of the ceremony, the meat pies (previously cooked by the women and the men not wearing Masks) were distributed among all members to be consumed. Overall, this chapter shows that the Canela demonstrate a practical awareness about the village’s moral economy of intimacy. The Festival places great emphasis on the Mask’s ability to display and embody particular social relations, having to do with giving, eating and ‘doing’ together. My conviction is that the intrinsic nature of the film (1970), based on the unfolding of the Mask’s bodily expressions and movements, gives the impression that the Canela stress the use of particular emotions to describe social practices which are intimately tied to vital Canela notions of generosity and personhood.

Chapter Five: Festival of Masks: emotions and performance

The previous chapter began with an overview of the relevant ethnographic material (visual and written documentation) dedicated by Crocker to the Festival. Chapter Five turns to the analysis of the Festival in more detail, focusing specifically on how these objects (masks) engendered Canela social relations and identity. Chapter Four introduced how the Festival of Masks is a ceremony that takes place over several days. Crocker states that the Mask's principal activity is begging for food (all the time) from the villagers. As Crocker writes: "The Masks approach an adult Canela and raise and lower their faces while uttering little grunts which constitute begging for food" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). And yet one can also observe that the complexity and richness of the Festival's dynamic are produced when the Masks experience a refusal. The ideal and emotionally comfortable situation of happiness, when a piece of food is put on the Mask's stick extended through their facial slit, changes completely when they face a refusal during the performance by some villagers. When this happens, the Masks rub their facial slits together in impatience and thrust their horns up threateningly in anger. When a person is hesitant, they fall to the ground, twirling, as if wilting, expressing compassion and shame. Crocker's statement makes it clear that the purpose of the Festival is to convey communal, emotional feelings, which in turn encourages acts of generosity and sharing patterns. But how does this logic work with the seemingly paradoxical refusal to share in the context of the Festival?

The key to resolving this apparent paradox, I propose, is by focusing on Crocker's images which depict the three most important bodily responses given by the Masks to those who, according to the rigid frame of the performance, are deemed to be stingy and 'ungiving': these are 1) anger, 2) compassion, and 3) shame. The script of the performance is always determined by a set of these repeated acts within the highly rigid regulatory frame. The Masks have a limited number of just three bodily expressions from which to make a constrained choice, when gifts of food are, perhaps not reciprocated. I therefore propose that the embodiment of these practices raises a number of unresolved questions, such as what exact role does the participant play in the decision to refuse to share? What kind of symbolism or meanings are related to the act/performance of refusal? My argument is that, despite the emphasis on the practices of begging 'as the main purpose of the Festival' (W. Crocker, interview, 2016), the photographs and films (1960, 1964, 1970) make it possible to me evaluate the important role played by some villagers, who, in the regulatory frame of the ceremony, refuse to share when a Mask approaches them. This chapter will discuss in more detail how some villagers's refusal to offer food to Masks, comes to be understood as part of a 'morality play' – a type of performance eliciting specific behaviour from the Mask. The Masks refer to a complex system of relationships which help to create and reaffirm the Canela collective world of social meanings and relationships. Compassion, shame and begging without shame are all presented as important and concrete experiences. What this points to is the extent to which, in both mundane and climactic performances, the few Canela villagers who refuse to reciprocate a gift of food,

ideally represent the possibility that daily community life is full of possible sources of disharmony and they mirror the presence of the one or two people who act in a selfish or untoward way. In order to prevent these incidents from occurring, members of the community dedicate much effort and attention to creating mechanisms that do not undermine the community's collective activities. The strong desire to prevent stinginess is a key to understanding why the compassionate attitudes acted out by the Masks work in favour of a community's health and well-being. Compassion helps to calm and ease angry feelings felt by a member of the collective (Masks's group) when gifts of food are perhaps not reciprocated. This ambiguity between the Mask's transactions and the villagers, such as playing with boundaries between role and self, is a crucial part of the ritual and it is an ineluctable part of the ceremony, because through it the Canela publicly seek to control behaviours that they recognise to be partially unpleasant and dangerous for the community cohesion and well being. This is consistent with Crocker's statement that it is in the Festivals that the community is engaged in relationships that work together to shape personal identities and concepts of the self (Crocker 1990). On the other hand, the Festival ends with the redistribution of food during the ceremony, which reaffirms important Canela values. The Festival of Masks can be seen as representative of abstract wider community goals, consciously negotiating encompassing forces via their shared values and awareness of the world-making stakes of their gestures and words. This chapter will examine local concepts of the self (the main research question) by following the triad of embodied expressions in the performance: anger, compassion and shame.

5.1 From anger to compassion

Anger has to be considered in its contextual festival manifestation. Such emotions acted out by the Mask reveal what Fisher has called "the moral imperative of equality, that everybody considers himself and herself entitled to a more or less equal share of what the group produces" (Fisher 2000:58). Authors such as Els Lagrou have demonstrated how, among the Cashinahua, emotions are incorporated into a person's body, and this is the reason why "it is the thinking and feeling body which is spoken of when one talks about positive and negative feelings. Feelings and emotions are forces, so to speak, which therefore involve images of bodily attitude" (Lagrou 2000:157). I suggest that, similar to what has been demonstrated by Lagrou (2009) for the Cashinahua, the Canela strive to make a public and explicit effort during the Festival to overcome their anger and their anxiousness while begging impatiently, when gifts of food are not reciprocated. In effect, the physical act of purposefully chasing away angry feelings was expressed by nodding the head of the Masks and changing the facial expression into a compassionate and or ashamed one. The concerns about stimulating compassion come to be associated with an aesthetic idea of controlling one's emotions, especially the wild, antisocial impulses such as anger and stinginess, by opposing practices that, on the other hand provoke compassion. Lowering the Masks may be seen as a sign of showing a sense of reflection, and to great effect in the performance, expressing bewilderment and vulnerability when facing an inadequate behaviour, such as the refusal of food. Compassionate, emotional and physical behaviour is performed in order to contrast the intense degree of anger performed by one of the Masks because of the perceived offences. Through their constant requests for

food, the Masks show their need in a unique way; the general idea is to let the others see you ‘suffering’, which will evoke pity (Walker 2013: 114) (Figure 4.49). Compassion is not only defined as an emotion or bodily feeling; in fact in Canela terms, it is a much wider concept, “going beyond a feeling to encompass both a moral principle and a mode of behavior” (Kidd 2000:118). In Canela, *Hapê* means literally (pity (*pena*)), a term that is employed to downplay the actual compassion for those in trouble that is a prime value of the Canela (Crocker 1990:185). As Kidd (2000) puts it, to be ‘a good person implies having an understanding of when and how to act appropriately’ (Kidd 2000:122). Being generous (one of the most important qualities a person must have) in Canela terms is *hd-kayren*. The worst attitude a Canela could demonstrate is stinginess *hõõtsè* (Crocker 1990:185). In the context of the Festival, compassionate postures dramatised by the Masks, are understood in a real, practical sense, as indicative of a wider perspective about the ways in which Canela seek to resolve problems of stinginess and the tension caused by egoistic behaviour, and to replace it with a caring, compassionate way of being with the others. Interestingly, an explanation of the transition from anger to compassion can also be founded in Crocker’s theory that:

Canela rarely see people or issues as opposed to each other in an extreme manner. The Canela prefer moderation, and they like opposing situations that can be modified into complementary ones, and resolvable ones (W. Crocker, interview, 2015).

This idea can be seen at work in the various attempts by Canela people to situate their emotions figuratively within a much larger frame in the ceremony. They do not seem to deny or suppress anger as a powerful emotion for long, as it is inculcated in them to be a response to a threat. Although a person who refuses to share can be denounced aggressively, anger has a very limited space in the Mask’s behaviour. Perhaps, images of anger are sooner transformed into the much more acceptable ‘compassionate ones’ during the performance. Anger consequently becomes an extreme response, although its negativity comes to be appeased when compared with the compassionate, generous attitudes, as a proper model for behaviour. One can refer to this kind of performative approach, as ‘compassionate mind-body training’, because the Canela do not target specific core beliefs or schema per se, but seek to alter a person’s whole orientation to self and relationship. Given the importance of experience in the way Amazonian people represent and give meaning to their world (Basso 1995; Gonçalves 2000), it is in the context of the Festival that the Canela learn how to identify their most esteemed attributes. For example, the ceremony inculcates the ability to express compassion and love for other people, as a self-desirable quality, building it into self-identity (I would like to be . . .) and encourages action to promote it. (Figure 4.49).

5.2 From shame to generosity

The Masks are also used to show mutual respect and modesty. In the sequences of footage when they are ashamed of a refusal (of food) they lower the head of their Mask. In some cases enraged, they threaten the offender with the horn. Shame, (*pahàm* in Canela), is shown with the head bowed to the ground, backing away from encounters with social others (Crocker 1990:232). (Figure 4.48). Crocker (1990) explained how the deliberate demonstration of ‘shame’ performed by the Canela is a broader concept than the Western one. Shame is related to thoughts and feelings about how one exists in the minds of others (Gilbert 1998). As a form of self-consciousness, shame is intrinsically linked to the presence of the other. It arises when we pass judgment on ourselves as objects, stepping outside of ourselves for a moment, all too aware of how we are being perceived by another person. Crocker (1990) reports how, during his fieldwork, ‘shame’ was discussed frequently and he stresses the idea that most restraints on individual behaviour in public and private situations are attributed to shame by Canela individuals. According to the anthropologist, they talk about shame as being the inhibiting factor preventing an individual from performing less traditional forms of activity. “A person with a high level of shame, or ‘loss of face’, would not be caught in a direct lie or an obvious theft because he would be too ashamed” (Crocker 1990:232). In other words, shame evidences a kind of openness to the other but also an essential vulnerability. It is associated with fear of the other’s judgment and, more broadly, of emotional harm. Da Matta (1982) points out that, in kin-based systems, shame among the Canela between the generations inhibits much of the behaviour of younger people towards older ones. For example, being of the opposite sex introduces a restraining influence in most situations, especially when people are closely related (Crocker 1990).

Canela stress shame, according to Crocker (1990), where it is obvious that shame is more of a socially external concept than an individually internal one in its enforcement on a person. A Canela individual, has internalised traditional values, so that he or she significantly fears potential accusations, ‘especially in the form of gossip and stories’. For example, stinginess is publicly condemned because it can lead to a major social problem in the community.

Not being generous and open is considered such an evil form of behaviour that individuals with strong desires may use the accusation to force another person to submit to unreasonable demands. A Canela owner of an axe, for instance, would be sorry for another Canela who, for some reason or other, strongly desired to use that axe. This kind of strong demand was respected—or at least, resisting the demand generated fear. The fear of being considered stingy, mean, or antisocial is a potent inhibition (Crocker 1990:185).

Thus, it seems the public demonstration of shame acted out by the Masks in response to a refusal for food, has the power to restore a damaged situation; it can heal humiliation and recreate a dialogue. Crocker states:

Canela do not have a guilt-oriented society basically; most problems are seen more in terms of the shame brought upon an offended party than the guilt of an offender. If no one has seen an offence, the perpetrator does not feel badly about having done it, though she or he knows the act was wrong. The offence is not felt as really being wrong until discovered and exposed to the community. The Canela still live in a society where everybody knows everyone else. They tend to modify bad behaviour toward those who commit them. Thus, publicly saving face is still very important, giving the offended person a little more social visibility in the future, and at the same time possibly restraining the offender in a similar future situation. Even though the game is carried out in a spirit of joviality (Crocker 1990:232).

It is through the same mechanism that the manifestation of shame makes them feel that they are not alone; the festival sequences can be seen to be embedded in Canela 'practices of conviviality' (e.g., Overing and Passes 2000), and this system does not work by force. It is more by suggestion than command, that the Masks stimulate the recognition of the community's 'protective role'. Furthermore, shame implies the self-discipline required to suppress desires or instincts considered antisocial (anger) or instincts contrary to the interests of others (stinginess) "and instead align one's desires with those of loved ones" (Belaunde 2000:132). Platteau and Abraham (1994) assert that internalisation processes in native societies are never complete, however, and hence external reward and sanction mechanisms are needed to complement the work of collective rituals and education.⁸⁹ On the other hand, I have observed elsewhere the fact that 'face-saving' is an essential characteristic of conflict settlement, especially in the traditional indigenous communities of Central Brazil, insofar as people are expected to live continuously in close contact with each other (Iuvaro 2012). The Masks are used to form a bridge between the "outer phenomenal world" and the inner Canela person by portraying various socio-cultural themes through indirect and even satiric depictions of Canela social concepts. These traditionally repeated acts help to dramatise different roles which define how Canela individuals should ideally behave. Interestingly, the ancient Latin word for Mask in the Wikipedia dictionary is 'persona' which indicates 'other faces', an aspect of the personality shown to, or perceived by, others. One can see how compassion and shame are appreciated as determining and interactive factors of the condition of shared enjoyment, amicability, excitement and fun: these cultivate 'the state of pleasurable sociality', in short, what Overing and Passes (2000) have glossed as 'conviviality' among the Lowland Native Americans. What is important to emphasise about the archive of images about the Festival is how they show how the Masks epitomise Canela values by acting out what is held to be right and by showing their required solidarity against the person's individuality (stinginess). This returns us to an inherent morality of personhood displayed through the Festival that is a major

⁸⁹ Sanctions are thus meted out in cases where individuals promote their own interest at the presumed expense of the group. Among these sanctions, fear of public humiliation often plays an important role (Platteau and Abraham 1994).

premise of this work. In summary, drawing on Crocker's material about the Festival, this chapter began with a discussion of the powerful emotion of anger and shame experienced by the Masks during the ritual and the other way around, of extremely compassionate behaviours, experienced through the systematic begging procedures of the Masks, through which this may be overcome. My argument called attention to the fact that the Festival enabled the Canela to experience very particular thoughts and emotions, such as compassion and shame, which in turn, I propose makes them acutely aware of the impropriety and danger of antisocial thoughts, such as anger and stinginess, and "makes the projects of living well a deeply motivated one" (Kidd 2000:116). The stress on over-exaggerated expressions of the Masks is also apparent in the general construction of numerous satirical acts during the performance.

The Masks also perform hilarious comical acts with Clowns. A Mask called little *Bad Mask* behaves in negative ways, which the other Masks never would. An important concept is expressed by Crocker.⁹⁰ The Clown members, according to Crocker were supposed to represent the somewhat lesser (the more relaxed and individualistic) aspects of life. Interestingly, "all these acts are carried out in a spirit of fun and joking which mitigates and neutralises the breaking of the traditions" (W. Crocker, interview, 2015). In this last part of the performance's script, the little *Bad Mask*, which does everything wrong, characteristically nods and smiles, as if to chase away the bad and inappropriate feelings caused by its bad actions. Complaints in the community were very 'short-lived' because they tended to remind themselves of, what has been referred to elsewhere as "the need to fear anger" (Belaunde 2000:211). This is consistent with what happened when a villager caused a Mask to be angry by refusing food. In fact, 'anger' was only accepted if the Mask made an explicit effort in the Festival to overcome their grievances and to show compassionate attitudes. This is consistent with Crocker's statement that the Festivals teach important Canela modes of behaviour. Crocker states how "teaching the mores of Canela life and associating them with the pleasure of feasting, singing, joking and sex, the festivals are both didactic and celebratory" (W. Crocker, interview, 2015).

5.3 Canela: reading of the body

To sum up, photographic and film imagery of the Festival of Masks illustrates the Canela's stress on the use of emotion to describe social practices which are intimately connected to notions of personhood. Notably, the Masks are *called Ko-khri-t*, according to different authors (Nimuendajú, 1946; Melatti 1978; Crocker 1990). Crocker points out that the morpheme '*Khr*' in the context of the sentence = (*mi - khr - d- khr*), expressed by the Canela when they speak about the Festival occasions means that (all their 'head's orifices', such as face, eyes and ears, are open to receive information: all information comes in) or 'they have great knowledge' (Crocker 1990). The suffix *Khr*— seems to suggest a key element in the creation of correct

⁹⁰ Crocker says that the little *Bad Mask* performance in the festival represents important Canela values "by acting out what is held to be wrong – the smashing of social bonds by winning outrageously and gloating at the demise of other Canela social groups" (Crocker 2004:81).

knowledge and, to a certain extent, to the process of gaining knowledge through the bodily expression of emotions displayed by the Masks in the Festival. This brings us to the question of how the knowledge of the surrounding world seems to be acquired in Canela terms, through the body, perhaps through the face, and in particular through the eyes and the ears during the ceremony. The anthropologist Kensinger (1995) has written about perception and learning through the body:

For something to become knowledge, the senses have to help root this perception of the surrounding world through the skin, the ears, the head, the hands, the body. One learns about things like love, compassion, anger, through the sensations they produce on the surface of the body. Knowledge of the natural world is skin knowledge, that is knowledge gained through and located in the body (Kensinger 1995:56).

The performing of the emotions can be seen as a way of exhorting the Canela to look at them, at those who love and are mostly generous to others, for example, sharing their food, in other words they are talking, literally and visually about a ‘way of living’ (Kidd 2000). Those who look at the Mask faces and gestures are those that, according to Kidd for the Enxet (200:116), “can hear, and ‘hearing’ can be commensurate with knowledge and understanding”. As Kidd observes, “when someone asks the Enxet of Paraguai, Do you hear? They can also mean do you understand?” (Kidd 2000:116). And knowledgeable people are said to have good ‘thoughts’ and, as Kidd (2000) notes, if they are “not manifested in actions, they do not exist” (Kidd 2000:118).

Overall, Canela notions of the person, or a ‘good person’ incorporate a series of related, sometimes overlapping qualities, substances and relations. As we saw earlier, an important emotion dramatised by the Masks while begging, was anger (if the Masks were ashamed by a refusal to give food, they lower the head of the Mask, and, enraged, threaten the offender with the horn). According to Crocker (1990) anger is one of the most aggressively condemned forms of immoral behaviour among the Canela, for it has to be considered as a failure of self-discipline. Moral behaviour and being a good person are intimately bound up in notions of ‘respect’, which, as emphasised earlier, epitomises the widespread belief in the sharing of food. The performance of the Masks thus stresses the need for people to learn how to ‘avoid causing anger in others’, when gifts of food are not reciprocated by the villagers, and develop a generous and compassionate attitude towards others. Further, this attitude of generosity is epitomised by the Masking postures (head bowed to the ground and grunting piteously) and their physical endurance. A ‘thoughtful or knowledgeable’ person is “someone whose conceptual and emotional life is manifested in a secure bodily disposition” (e.g., Belaunde 2000:213; Kidd 2000).

5.4 The importance of food in Canela sociality

In the previous description of Chapter Four, we became aware of how the ceremonial re-distribution of food in the Festival; the system of Canela ‘giving exchange’ worked according to strict performative formalities, as carried out and presented in a prescribed manner in a

ceremonial procession. To better understand the importance of Canela food giving as played out in the Festival, attention should be focused on the practices of begging dramatised by the Masks. Much of the ceremonial distribution of food was initiated by the explicit Masks' requests during the Festival, embodied as a particular form of demanding food. According to Crocker, when the Canela were a hunter-gatherer people, only somewhat dependent on food production, it was important for foods, especially valued meat, to be passed around to any people in need. "This was not done automatically except for certain relatives. Hungry people had to go to where food was and ask for it without shame. It was also an expression of the intensity of their feelings and care for each other, especially in the late 1950s" (Crocker 1990:212). The distribution of meat and protection for the more vulnerable were not always gifts freely given; often they had to be evoked or solicited. Similarly, gestures of solicitation for food (begging) and compassionate attitudes dramatised by the Masks (drawing attention to one's suffering state in order to elicit compassionate gifts of food) became an important vehicle for the expression of sociability among the Canela. This aspect of caring among the Canela connected to the concern that everybody received a fair portion in any distribution. One of the most important Canela attributes is the attitude to feel and care for (*hapê*) other people (Crocker 1990:184). The opposite is (*me kumd-i-yapê-naare* – I - care not: I have no feelings for them) (Crocker 1990:185). The sense of fair sharing was supported by feelings of concern for the person who did not obtain her or his portion or who did not receive anything at all. As demonstrated elsewhere in Amazonia by authors such as Lagrou (2009) and Walker (2013), the continuous giving away and receiving of food is central to the morality of social proximity and a defining characteristic of collectiveness. Els Lagrou, writing about the Cashinahua, stresses the idea that "experiences shared, and food eaten, mould a being into what it is" (Lagrou 2000: 165). The abundant distribution of food resources, and often of valuable meat, through the practice of 'begging' enabled the Canela not only to satisfy their own and their community's needs, but also to carry out rituals for their social well-being. Participation in a meal such as the one described in the Festival of Masks was an important event in communal life, and indispensable to the task of building solidarity within and between residential groups. I suggest that in the ceremonial distribution of their surplus, the Canela felt a manifestation of a generous sociality, and an enhancement of personality. This is consistent with the practices of begging among them; the system does not work by force. If refusing a request to give (food) is strongly sanctioned against in the Festival; stinginess, is considered a terrible trait; the objective is to induce the appropriate and generous impulse in the villagers to donate what they have. This is directly related to my earlier observation of the most important postures dramatised by the Masks in the Festival.

5.5 The language of generosity

Canela worldview, especially beliefs about sociality based on generosity and care, is also expressed linguistically. Elsewhere, Azanha (1984) writes that the suffix *Khri-t* (the Masks are called *Ko-Khri-t*) can be used to designate an animal, 'even spirit' but is more likely to be translated in Canela terms as 'the companion of the water' (Schultz 1950:152, Azanha 1984; Melatti 1960; Crocker 1990:276). Interestingly, Crocker (2004) observed that, besides the two

kinship systems (the consanguineal and affinal), Canela individuals have special Institutions, namely ‘Formal and Informal Friendship Institutions’ which link individuals to each other for closeness and their desire to remain friends for the rest of their lives. Crocker describes how ‘Informal Friends’ are constant ‘companion[s] and confidants’ who take each other’s possessions freely and have important mutually protective roles for each other (Crocker 2004:62). This companionship characterises a mutual care and an “intensification of mutual cooperation” using Walker’s (2013:11) words when he describes a similar relationship he observed among the Urarina. Additionally, as suggested by Marcela Coelho de Souza (quoting Lukesh), the term *Khri-t* –normally refers to a particular pet, which is treated with care and is considered to be a member of the family, such as, a son or a friend; “animal de estimação, tratado e chorado com o afeto que se da a um parente filho o amigo” (Lukesh 1976:33 quoted in Coelho de Souza 2002:364). The Canela have pets, such as parrots, monkeys, wild boar, and emus (ostriches). These animals are treated with care and raised with love. They are also fed well until they die or escape, and so their treatment is similar to the way Canela treat their children (Crocker 1990). The term *Khri-t* seems a rather versatile suffix, which can be used to describe particular physical, mental and emotional states of being of the Masks. The suffix *Khri-t* also seems to suggest a key element in the creation of the Canela correct mode of behaviour and, to a certain extent, to the process of gaining a better knowledge about caring for others.

5.6 Discussion: ‘keeping the other happy’

This chapter has focused on the importance given to gestures of solicitation (begging) for food sharing, that appear during the Festival, as expressions of what Walker has elsewhere described as the ‘moral rectitude and paramount expressions of the proper behaviour expected of ‘good people’ (Walker 2013:100). Crocker noted that the Canela food distribution system through begging was a positive and very important element in their society. He says that in the late 1950s, the Canela were almost always ‘generous’ when confronted by a situation requiring it. The notion of the self seems to be embedded in relational ethics predicated on responsiveness and altruistic attitudes towards others. The social link is produced by the fact that individuals sacrifice at least part of their personal autonomy at the level of collective organisation, the community. To attain a more general idea of this Canela ethical philosophy, it is necessary to understand that the apparent autonomy of individuals, and their liberty, is encompassed in a wider sense by ‘a principle of collective solidarity’ (Alés 2000). Crocker’s logic of deduction helps us to understand how this system works not by force but by mediation, adherence and the recognition of the importance of generosity.

The Canela believe in ‘*Tom pei*’ which means ‘make it good’ or ‘keep the other happy’ (W. Crocker, interview, 2015).

‘Keeping the other happy’ resonates with and is enabled by ‘being generous’. The Festival’s concern for being generous, it seems, is a long way from the predatory mode of appropriation often used to characterise social and human-environment relations elsewhere in Amazonia

(Viveiros de Castro 1998; Vilaça 2007). Canela sharing patterns seem to occupy a kind of middle ground between unsolicited giving and giving 'on demand'. People depend on one another, as well as on the natural environment, for food and a variety of everyday needs and duties. It is important to reiterate Crocker's assertion that being a 'good Canela person' is synonymous with being generous. Being generous is a quality that, in turn, expresses 'good or healthy thoughts and feeling' or this is related to an important consideration about the significance of the Festival. Generosity results in more than just material products; it is central to the morality of social proximity and a defining characteristic of collectiveness. As has been demonstrated, for the Canela, a cohesive community is one where its members have the embodied skills to interact appropriately through the practice of compassion and generosity in a happy way. A good generous attitude and the person's rightful and free access to the community's tools, are key agents of the style of social action, which in turn are morally and politically 'conducive to the creation of community' (Passes 2000). For the Canela, begging is both intrinsic to and generative of sociality. The idea of solidarity assumes its weight through the constant repetition of sharing practices among the community. The 'same spirit of collective membership and collective responsibility' and generosity, as seen in Alès (2000), is illustrated through their increasing participation in the Festival of Masks system. In short, Canela collective responsibility for the well-being and state of others, is institutionalised by the begging procedures enacted by the Masks. This chapter described how compassion, shame and begging without shame, are all presented in the Festival of Masks as seen through Crocker's images and text. The archival materials provide iconic images that, if grouped together, show how a heightened experience is produced in the Festival, thereby indexing (and often altering) important social relations. It can be argued that cognitive content and sociological efficacy, meaning and function are thus linked via the media of performance. Taken as a whole, the Masks (in the Festival of Masks) mediate a range of Canela ideas about proper community life and the feelings which are supposed to go with it. The images represent, effectively and performatively, the ways that a good Canela should behave. Chapter Six will discuss the idea that, through multi-sensory aesthetic encounters, another type of relationships between Canela and the 'female groups' is valued and made materially and symbolically meaningful within the Festival.

Chapter Six: Sharing among the Canela

So far, this work has described how the Festival was concerned with matters of morality, particularly with how the Canela people admired generosity, but despised the bad practice of being stingy and refusing to reciprocate gifts of food. Crocker left a clear visual record that captured the Canela's strong sense of the right way to behave with others in the community. Their concern for the well-being of their community members was best exemplified by the Festival's activities.

The footage shot in 1970 – unlike Crocker's written descriptions – allows one to follow the detail of the Masks' bodily movements and expressions in depth. These served the double function, of showing the scene and also simultaneously suggesting a particular anxiety of the Mask, while begging for food. Begging from the villagers was depicted as repeated impatient jerking of the masks and moving the slits up and down. This performed anxiety may have represented a common Canela fear of being accused of stinginess. For the Canela, the Mask's anxiety while begging, implored villagers to grant a gift of food and is also representative of the fear of receiving a refusal itself. As Crocker explored in his written commentary, what often restrained their action was the fear of being accused of stinginess or of being antisocial; he established the fact that for them not being generous and open was considered a poor form of behaviour (Crocker 1990:185).

There is another important and interesting aspect that appears in Crocker's work. From a close examination of the images of the Festival, one can notice that the performance was not only composed of the highly ritualised distribution of food and rhythmic movement of the body, such as in over-exaggerated expressions of compassion and generosity, but was also typified by a great deal of sexually related experience. The footage shows how at different moments of the Festival women tied pieces of food to the Mask who then goes off, running and playing around the boulevard, dodging other Masks. According to Crocker's text, when a piece of food is put on the Mask's stick at night by a woman, the act may be a prompt for sexual relations.

If the man in the Mask sees a female relative approaching him, he avoids her, knowing that sexual relations are a possibility. If a non-relative approaches, the Mask does not avoid her, but allows her to tie a short chain of beads to one of his horns (Crocker 2004:83).

Occasionally, two pairs of feet were seen sticking out from under the skirt of a Mask, and the smaller of the pair had to be the feet of one of the women. "At night such a pair drift off behind the houses into the darkness of mutual pleasure," writes Crocker (2004:83).⁹¹ What is important to emphasise here is the way the anthropologist established that generosity among the group

⁹¹ Most people know who the maskers are, as it is a small population and their feet are likely to be recognizable.

must be shown by both women and men around sex (Crocker 1990). He stated: “For the Canela, no one should be stingy when somebody else wants or needs the pleasure their cooperation can give” (Crocker 1990:184). He challenges our Western perspectives and sensibilities when he says that the traditional orientation around personal generosity, “is also applied to a person’s body.” (Crocker 1990:184). He makes inferences to the fact that an important aspect of caring and generosity was their extramarital relations system, which was in turn, sanctioned by different ceremonies, including the Festival of Masks. While Crocker’s analysis of the extramarital system among the Canela occupies an important aspect of his research, for the purpose of my work, this argument will only be touched upon in regard to the impact it had on the Festival. I argue that what is performed in the ceremony does not seem to be the manifestation of an acclaimed individual desire for sexual pleasure. From this work we have already seen that the Canela’s sharing patterns rest less on any structure or principal of reciprocal obligation than on the existence of trust. Crocker himself notes that the extramarital network of sexual relations was one of the most important factors in maintaining the characteristically high social cohesion (Crocker 1990). This relationship system provided alternative pathways between two or more individuals, helping to preserve communication and peace between them and their families. “A Canela’s sexuality was considered among her or his most valuable assets in interpersonal relations” (Crocker 1990:185). Then, sharing was described by the anthropologist as of paramount importance for the community, “not only of food and other goods, but of sex as well” (Crocker 1990: 185). An important implication of this view is how the sex celebrated a period of giving. Crocker’s recording of these practices enhanced our understanding of the Festival. He tells us, indirectly, that these relationships were, above all, supposed to be voluntary and based on trust rather than obligation.⁹² He described how informal friends generally, on Festival occasions, exchanged each other’s wives for sexual purposes and still referred to each other’s wives and children as ‘our wife’ and ‘our child’, using a special dual form, the personal pronoun ‘*pa*’.

Informal friends are only distantly nominated by kinship, who live close by and often shared food and more specifically their relationship is based in terms of mutual care and love. Informal friends take each other’s possession freely, without asking (Crocker 2004:62).

This archive documentation is an aesthetically and visually textured representation of the many ways in which an enriched, embedded sharing experience among the group happened during the Festival. Crocker left few written indications of the underlying details that comprised the selection of the Mask’s unfolding events, however, it is clear that many of the relationships undertaken by the Masks, including the experiences and actions of compassion and shame, which seems to lie at the heart of Canela sociality are pervaded by an intense proximity and a

⁹²Besides the two relationship systems, the consanguineal and the affinal, the Canela have several other interpersonal relationship systems of significance that contribute to their social cohesion. These relationships form extensive and remarkable part of Crocker’s analysis.

reciprocal entanglement, directly linked to a particular Canela sociality, and concept of self. The performativity of the Masks become an inextricable part of the Canela subject.

6.1 The affective conditions of Canela sociality

An interesting implication of the Canela worldview, based on the concept of generosity, was also expressed by another related ritual exercise in the Festival. Watching the 1970 film materials, one notices that an additional important passage occurs when all the Masks arrived at the entrance of the village on the day of their great procession, and then were designated by the women to be their ‘children’ or ‘pets’. Crocker briefly describes the Masks as amusing and playful pets or children with definite personalities. Masks were viewed as being nice little creatures, “they are likeable, children rather than adults, they have a good time, and they are almost human, since they experience joy, shame and compassion” (Crocker 1990:277). The 1970 sequence of the film clearly displays how each Mask had a designated mother, who tied ornaments, beads, cloth, or anything onto his horns in order to identify her Mask (Figures 4.19 and Figures 4.33 (a / b)), which she must then feed and water for the duration of the Festival. The personification of the woman as a ‘mother figure’ occupies, in my opinion, a further significant position in the ceremony and deserves a more detailed analysis.

The masking performances establish reciprocal social relations between the members of the masker groups and the Canela villagers. According to Crocker’s unpublished written diary the role of the wearer of the Mask was inherited from uncle to nephew. The uncle in Canela society had a very important role in teaching ceremonial roles to their nephews. The female ritual parent may have occupied an even more important role in the Festival. As pointed out elsewhere by Crocker, the role of women within the family setting was very important in maintaining a high level of social cohesion (Crocker 2004:48). Being a mother to her children was the principal role that a woman fulfilled. Being a wife also meant ensuring the house and its surrounding area was clean and food well prepared (Greene and Crocker 1994). Crocker (2004) described the role of a woman as being also ideally an agricultural worker, food gatherer and sometimes the principal economic provider for her children. Additionally, according to the description of the mothers’ child-rearing practices, children were taught by their mothers from an extremely young age, to ‘help’ their parents or at least to act in concert with them; they were taught how to behave in a proper and sociable manner such as helping others, and above all, to share food and other possessions with their peers.

Londoño-Sulkin (2012:43) similarly, explores how in Lowland South American communities, “children were supposed to be treated in ways that would bring forth proper attitudes from them, and to be taught to act in ways that would cause others to regard and treat them with loving, care, respect and generosity.” To a certain extent, the conviction that the process of learning to become a ‘good person’, among Lowland South American groups, is likely conceived of ‘as somewhat mechanical’ as suggested elsewhere by Kidd (2000:117) and Walker (2013). It seems that the corporeal, physical attitude of giving, enforced by the Canela mothers, has a powerful part to play within the practice of their ceremonial life. What the

‘mother’s children figure’ and the maskers have in common, I propose, is the fact that, they are both in the process of developing a ‘proper compassionate sociable mode of behavior’ (Kidd 2000:116). As the child grows in Canela everyday life, it is expected to share food and other possessions with its peers, and in this way to develop good behaviour and a sociable and compassionate manner.

The unfolding mother-children activities assume a metaphorical aspect, mirroring important Canela social practices. A comparable literature about Lowland South-American people (e.g., Kidd 2000; Lagrou 2009) also considered children or young people in general to have “malleable bodies that were still in the process of setting into the form, habits, capacities they would always have” (Londoño-Sulkin 2012:42). Londoño-Sulkin (2000) suggests how in particular moments of their life, children are “supposed to act very judiciously, so that their bodies would take on proper shapes and capacities and become abodes for proper thoughts, emotions, and desirable atmospheres” (Londoño-Sulkin 2012:42). The codes of conduct around generosity, in the Canela community, were strictly enforced, in part through the acquisition of norms which was learnt during the daily practice of sharing food and other sharing activities, and in part by legitimising the use of the physical corporeal attitudes of giving which were reinforced during festive occasions such as the Festival of Masks. Interestingly, among the Karaja, the production of animal figures, masks and an intricate feathered cap were created to be children’s toys, and cultural learning toys. They helped children to learn about everyday life in the community, and they also portray animals and fish from the region (Pétesch 1987).

In summary, examination of the two most intimate relationships performed during the ritual: (1) compassion and generosity expressed through the begging procedures, and; 2) the female-child ritual parent relations, are associated with promoting Canela sociality and personhood. Interestingly, Luisa Elvira Belaunde points out that ultimately, elsewhere in Amazonia, “upbringing is the cornerstone of personhood among the Airo-Pai” (Belaunde 2000:211). The bond between a mother and child is an important primary relationship, which influences the child's relationships with others within the community in the future. Additionally, one of the defining characteristics of the female ritual parent relations represented in the Festival can also be seen as the basis of Canela solidarity, the cement which ties all members of the community together and enables them to live a ‘good and harmonious life’. Taken as a whole, the Masks’ performance essentially comprised a repetitive juxtaposition of key items and expressions that worked toward a clear goal, in a performative sense, the controlled incorporation of relationships which helped to maintain harmony in the village. This is consistent with Crocker’s statement that it is in the Festivals that the community is engaged in relationships that work together to shape personal identities and concepts of the self.

6.2 Weaving Canela knowledge

Weaving is also central to Canela identity, and to Canela sociality (Ribeiro 1988). All the items used to make the Masks (and the Mask itself) are slowly and painstakingly put together using palm fibre twine. Lagrou suggests that “weaving is a knowledge of both eyes and hands, and is manifested in the capacity to visualise an unseen pattern while manually progressing thread by thread” (Lagrou 2009:158). For the Canela, the forming of a mat and the weaving of palm fibres are also associated with several moments of the life of a Canela: “mats make the connection among the crucial moments in the formation of the individual and the construction of a Canela person” (Reis Lima 2003: 117 quoted in Paes 2004:76). The woven mat is not the product of conscious design but rather emerges in the course of the Canela’s everyday activities. At the moment of birth the infant is transferred immediately into a mat-hammock made by his father. Children begin to learn about their manufacture and the girls possess Buriti mat dolls, the pubescent boys have their ears pierced on the mat. Canela people, according to Melatti (1960), do not sit or lie in direct contact with the ground, only on a mat, and the dead are wrapped in two mats. These entanglements of matter and meaning, of sounds and substance, are a recurring theme in Canela social life (Souza 2002). “The mat, in turn, follows the life of an individual, as if it were an extension of his own body” (Melatti 1960:45). There is a certain degree of contingency at work here, and as suggested by Simões Paes: “the fabrication of the mat is a way of working through the Canela’s own ideas about the kind of person they hope their child will become” (Simões Paes 2004:77). Fernando Santos-Granero also suggests that in Amerindian ontologies, “it is craftsmanship rather than childbearing which provides the model for all creative acts, and thus people and objects share the same symbolic frame of fabrication” (Santos-Granero 2009:45). I would suggest that, at least in the Canela case, the particular mode of craftsmanship in question, is weaving. Weaving is an important female activity among the Canela and involves a patterned integration of diverse elements (Melatti 1960). Crocker writes how: “Women themselves play this integrative role in the uxori-local structure of Canela society, incorporating in-marrying men into the household. It is typically from an initial social-structural position as outsiders, men are transformed into relatives and co-residents, consolidating the domestic unit (Crocker 1990:246). Weaving of the mat epitomises the incorporative activity by which the Canela come into being as socially connected to each other. As suggested by Tim Ingold (2007:304), a significant feature of weaving is “how form emerges, not through the application of force from without, nor the imposition of a pre-existent conceptual design, but through the gradual building up from a pattern of rhythmic movement.” This becoming implies elements of taste as well as affection and it is considered to be an attitude, “a state of mind which, in Cashinahua terms, is a state of the body, or a state of being” (Lagrou 2000:160). Interestingly, the Masks are two long woven flat objects (mats) standing together, each supported by the other.

6.3 Summary

Previous sections articulated in detail the Mask tradition system of the Canela Festival of Masks. Despite Crocker's brief description of the Festival, the ceremony is revealed to be a unique and complex social occasion in the community. However, it has only been possible to study it in more detail thanks to Crocker's rich record of photography and filming among the group, which enabled deeper investigation of the whole nature of Crocker's archive of Canela life between the mid-1950s and 1970, when the Festival was last recorded. Edwards (2001) challenged our understanding of photographs when she said that "we may feel photography and film can never inform us in a relevant way because we are dealing with such a different level of history" (Edwards 2001:102). I believe the opposite can also be true, namely that "images can definitely inform us" (Edwards 2001:102). In particular, Crocker's images can inform us not only about the 'minutiae of Canela ordinary life'. For the purpose of this work, the photographs and film are also capable of providing an important link between the ordinary lived experience of the Canela, moving through personal historical moments, to the collective stories of a particular Festival of Masks which highlights social relationships and the moral principles in the Canela community. Chapter Four described how the Festival of Masks' footage demonstrates how it was usually seen as a joyous occasion, occurring in the plaza in front of the villagers and generally considered to be part of the seasonal festivities. It normally began with a great parade of the Masks dramatising particular emotions, such as anger, compassion and shame, while begging for food and approaching the villagers. Chapter Five discussed the powerful emotion of anger as well as the extremely ashamed and compassionate behaviour during the begging procedures acted out by the other Masks.

My main emphasis was on visual and textual records of the specific bodily expressions of the Masks. The syntax of the footage construction, shot in the middle of the action, shows that one of the most important states of mind was compassion, expressed by a specific posture of the Mask, head bowed to the ground backing away insistently. Crocker's archive of images enhances the anthropologist's exploration of attitude, especially about the role of generosity and Canela notions of community and the moral economy of intimacy.⁹³ A close analysis of Crocker's archive of images led to this interpretive, schematic synthesis of the Canela people's understanding of morality. In sum, generosity lies at the very centre of proper social relations in the Canela Festival. I have explored how as a moral value, 'generosity' should characterise any interaction between those who consider themselves to be in a social relationship (Kidd 2000:118). Specifically, among the Canela it is understood that the concept of generosity implies helping and spending time with others, sharing property, and being willing to eat and

⁹³ For example, Belaunde, when she speaks about the Airo-Pai, points out that "the management of emotional life among the Airo-Pai is articulated upon key formulaic expressions which are used, first, to recognise, and then, to disperse feelings of being upset. Rather than to search for explanations, apologies or compensation from others, the Airo-Pai overcome their own feelings by verbally remembering themselves, and the others around them, that anger means death" (Belaunde 2000:211).

drink together. Fisher, in an article on the importance of re-distributive practices and of communal meals among the Xikrin, (another Gê-group) asserts:

Collective activities are successful if they generate intense common emotions within the village as a whole that are analogous to those thought to naturally emerge through the creation of physical ties between nuclear family members. Healthy emotions... are more than a metaphor... While everyday-one is not joined through social relationship to all others in the village, all participants in a community share a living ideal regarding common participation in activities that create common sentiments. The social significance of these sentiments is that they are indices, or monitors, of particular social and physical states which social action seeks to achieve (Fisher 2000:125).

The Festival of Masks represents the cultural institutionalisation of a particular Canela prescription about care and generosity or the traits necessary to 'live a harmonious life'. The combination of particular emotions and generous behaviour displayed by the Masks in the ceremony can therefore be linked also to Londoño-Sulkin's argument (2000), which posited that "the Muinane are profoundly persuaded by the reality postulates which inform their narratives, rituals and interpretations of behavior, concerning the materiality of subjectivity and agency, the constitution of the self and the principle of proper human action" (Londoño-Sulkin 2000:184). Londoño-Sulkin (2000) demonstrated that the Muinane place emphasis on particular thoughts which people must experience (feelings/emotions) and make manifest in order to live well: "among other things, they should love their kin, be wary of improprieties and danger, be respectful of others according to certain prescriptions. Achieving this for the group is a manifestation of the morality and knowledge of its members and leaders" (Londoño-Sulkin 2000:184). The analysis demonstrated how the Canela community is constructed through highly ritualised adherence to precisely formulated norms that pervade different spheres of life, from daily social relations and festivals, to the distribution of food and the movement of the body among the Canela. Crocker's images captured fundamental aspects of this worldview in action. The Festival as a whole signifies the complex series of personal skills, knowledge and qualities most desired by the Canela. The focus in the next chapter is to describe two other types of performance during the Festival, which have further relevance in understanding Canela sociality.

Chapter Seven: The myth of Awkhêê in the Festival of Masks celebration

This chapter describes and analyses an event performed by the Masks that appears to recall an episode from the Canela's origin stories, concerning their mythological hero-figure and founding father, Awkhêê (Crocker 2004:19). The narrative will be seen to represent the historic-ideological process by which the Canela expressed their meeting with non-Indians. The aim is to show how Crocker's archival materials about the ceremony shed new light on important connections between the oral tradition of Awkhêê (a Canela cultural hero) and the Canela Festival of Masks. Firstly, I focus on the Masks' interactions with the villagers during the middle part of the ceremony (discussed in Chapter Four) - activities that occurred in the evenings, before the end of the daily Festival activities, when the villagers lit a bonfire in front of their houses, and the Masks pretended to put the fire out (Figures 4.38 (a / b) to 4.39 (a / b / c)). In addition, this chapter focuses on another type of performance performed by the Masks during the middle part of the ceremony. This event is characterised by specific Mask movements along the Festival pathways, involving running in line to all the Canela houses (Figures 4.35). The way that these two types of performance were carried out has relevance to understanding Canela sociality.

Chapter Four described how one of the main activities of the Masks during the middle part of the Festival was to process along specific pathways which subsequently merged together, becoming one and leading to the centre of the village. Thus, the village's central plaza was the centre of the Canela universe and the most socialised space, where the most important Festival sequences took place (Crocker 1990). These two last private events described in Chapter Four, I argue here, were as significant as the Masks' begging activities and the performing of emotions, discussed in previous sections of the thesis, and they too involved obligatory socialising and reciprocal exchanges between members of the performance group and the participants. I will argue that these were ways of expressing important Canela social values. Ultimately, I suggest the Masks' physical movements seek to directly engage with each Canela family, whilst extinguishing fires was an expression of remembrance of the Canela's origin story and referred to their meeting with the 'non-Indians' (Figures 4.38 (a / b) to 4.39 (a / b / c)). This chapter will thus demonstrate how the Festival celebration occupies a central position in expressing historical links to Canela social relations and events. The ceremony was of paramount importance here, and connected Canela core definitions of the self with their society, culture and history.

7.1 The myth of Awkhêê

This section begins with a discussion of Canela views on their own original story. According to Crocker's written reports, Awkhêê (a Canela primary hero-figure) was linked to the figure

of the ‘benevolent emperor of Brazil’, Dom Pedro II, who ascended to the throne in 1840 (Crocker 2004:18).⁹⁴

It was during this time that the myth as narrated below evolved (Crocker 2004:18). Awkhêê would be identified by the Canela with the figure of Dom Pedro II.

In 1845, Dom Pedro had issued a decree known as the *Regimento das Missões*, which regulated the relationship between Brazilians and Indians throughout the empire. Indian lands were demarcated and warfare against them was forbidden, and they could not be enslaved. Dom Pedro II ordered that Indian women being used as mistresses by Brazilians be returned to their people. We can assume that Dom Pedro II achieved through this decree an almost sacred aura in the minds of a number of Indian people, since the myth of Awkhêê/Dom Pedro II is found throughout the region among the Gê-Speaking people (Crocker 2004:18).⁹⁵

Crocker subsequently reports that although Dom Pedro II established good relationships with the Canela, they on the other hand received only a small part of their ancestral territory, the assigned land that they still occupy today. The Canela accepted the settlements because they believed that Dom Pedro was concerned for them and for this reason they identified him with the hero Awkhêê. In addition, as reported by Crocker,

The message of the myth for the Canela is that the backlander, since he had won the more ‘prestigious shotgun’ would become wealthy, but in return, he would have to give the Indian everything the Indian would ever want and need (Crocker 2004:18).⁹⁶ This myth justifies for the Indians his dependency on the *civilizado*, and it legitimizes the Indian’s begging (Crocker 2004:18).

The narrative represents the historico-ideological process by which the Canela described their meeting with the non-Indians to themselves and the Festival could be seen as the result of this process that took place in the Canela post-colonial contact zone, at the intersection of the global Colonial Empire and Canela local histories. In the literature, the Canela have been described as people who have occupied a relatively subordinate position to the non-Indians, and how they rarely saw themselves as aggressors, instead identifying themselves as righteous or noble victims retaining the moral high ground (Crocker 2004).

⁹⁴ By 1820 the Brazilian pioneer front had completely moved through the region of the Canela.

⁹⁵ Today the FUNAI, the National Indian Foundation, is the Brazilian Government body that establishes and carries out policies relating to indigenous peoples. FUNAI is responsible for mapping out and protecting lands traditionally inhabited and used by these communities.

⁹⁶ Crocker is referring to the occupation of their large territory.

In the Canela historical consciousness, the Festival acted out the message contained in the story of the myth of Awkhêê, through which the practice of begging justified their inferior position in the world relative to the one occupied by the 'non-Indians (Crocker 2004:11). But it also seems to show how the Canela exercised agency in their relationship with the dominant force. The celebration served to maintain their high moral and internal cohesion as a group. In particular, they seem to have used the ceremony to re-centre the history of their contact with the world of the non-Indians, but within their own indigenous framework. The institution of begging, which was originally a means for them to compensate for their inferior status in front of the conquistador, became an important medium for sustaining Canela cultural identity and memory. In effect, an important significance of the myth's message about the origin of the Festival of Masks was that it prescribed an ethical or moral model for the re-creation of Canela socio-economic harmony. The ceremonial distribution of food and the consuming of communal meals all helped to create a symbolic link between the Canela individual and the continued collective life of their community. We have come to appreciate in the previous chapters how the lives of the group were organised and maintained through acts of giving food on demand (begging) as a means of establishing solidarity with each other. The Canela were hunter-gatherer people, which likely explains their emphasis on sharing (Crocker 2004:85).⁹⁷ Scholars of ritual (Corr 2010; Connerton 1989) demonstrated the role of the festival (the term Festival is used here as it was used by Crocker) in sustaining collective memory. Barbara Myerhoff's work on performance (1990) notes "that because rituals are repetitions of many past performances, they provide a sense of comfort and continuity" (Barbara Myerhoff (1990), quoted in Corr 2010:101). What emerges, therefore, is that the Canela performed the Festival of Masks to illustrate ways in which they were active in shaping and maintaining their own way of life during times of great change.

7.2 The generative power of Awkhêê's myth

Crocker recounts, the origin story of Awkhêê follows.

In the Myth, Awkhêê was born of a Canela mother, but he had remarkable other-worldly powers, which he used playfully as a child. For instance, he turned himself into a jaguar to scare his siblings, and then into an anaconda (a large constrictor water snake) to scare them again. However, his 'uncles', the Elders, took a dim view of such activities. Awkhêê's remarkable abilities threatened the uncles' power, so they connived to kill him on several occasions. They pushed him into a bonfire, but Awkhêê

⁹⁷ Redistributive norms and generous mode of behaviours, were based on the importance of giving food to the Canela person in need, as a protection from periods of adversity and scarcity of food resources (Crocker 2004). For example, "a concentrated supply of vegetable foods would allow hunters to stay together with their families during the period of cooperative hunting and would be most profitable through productive cooperation" (Maybury-Lewis 1979:123).

jumped out. Then they surrounded the fire and kept pushing him back into it from every side. Seeing how determined they were, Awkhêê let them succeed. So he turned himself into a cinder and disappeared from view.

Several days later, Awkhêê's mother, longing for him, went to see the location of the bonfire. Instead of ashes, she found a farm with a white house. Horses, cattle, pigs, and chickens were roaming about. Awkhêê had turned himself into the first *civilizado* (non-Indian) and had created the backland society and economy. Awkhêê welcomed his mother and showed her the new world he had constructed. He told her to go back to their people to summon his uncles. When the uncles arrived at the white house, they became afraid of Awkhêê and the new world of the backlanders. Awkhêê welcomed them and told them not to be afraid; he wanted to help his special people, the Canela. At this point the myth continues with the offer of the shotgun which the Canela rejected in favour of the bow and arrow (Crocker 2004: 135-136).

The story starts by telling us that Awkhêê (identified as Dom Pedro II) had a Canela mother. The narrative began with Awkhêê (half Canela) having a near-death experience, while his uncles, threatened by his remarkable other-worldly powers, tried several times to push him into a bonfire to kill him. Interestingly, a similar alternative reality inspired by Awkhêê's story was figuratively re-enacted in the Festival. Earlier in the thesis, I discussed how in the middle part of the ceremony, the Festival required that each family of the village light a small bonfire on the pathway in front of their house during the early evening darkness. These pathways, consisted of several roads leading to the centre of the village. They were also the only roads used by the Masks while making their way into the village from their shed. The Festival required that the Mask's spatial movements connected the homes of the Canela and the centre of the village, to the Masks' home through these pathways. During this middle part of the Mask's circumambulation, their main duties were to come along these pathways and pretend to put out the fires of the household by moving in line slowly around the pathways several times, while swishing their skirts over and across each bonfire (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). However, despite their efforts, the house owners kept replenishing their bonfires so that the Masks could not succeed in their endeavour. (Figures 4.38 (a / b) to 4.39 (a / b / c)). These activities were reported by Crocker in his written diary and called in Canela language *Ku'hù 'Pil to Mõ Act* (The fire extinguish do go-along Act). (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). Then, after going back to their shed, they went down to the stream to bathe, and then returned to their shed where they had a collective meal and rested (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). The behaviour of the Masks (regarding the bonfires and their attempts at extinguishing them) could be seen as a way of remembering Awkhêê's experience of danger and specifically the uncles' determination and repeated attempts to kill him. These were actions that made reference to Awkhêê's origin narrative - being the Masks this time and not Awkhêê. The risk of being badly affected by the fire was a real possibility from their running along the pathways, particularly at night, because the Masks were made of an organic plant material and extremely flammable.

In seeking to understand the position of the Awkhêê story and how it intersected with the Festival celebration, my attention was directed to certain fundamental aspects of the human experience that can be learned from them.

- 1) The main significance of the Awkhêê myth was its focus on Awkhêê's power to create a newly transformed world. The myth focused on Awkhêê who escaped death and the possibility of losing his own land and his contact with his people, and instead created a new world symbolised by the 'farm with a White House and animals, a new place for all Canela to live'.
- 2) Another significance of the myth was the message of a world divided by conflicting powers (the uncles, who in Canela society occupied an important position, and Awkhêê) and of a world metamorphosed out of this conflict into a perfect world (the good and generous Awkhêê).
- 3) The third significance was its focus on Awkhêê's strong disposition toward kindness and compassion, or forgiveness towards someone whom it was within one's power to harm (the uncles).

Often portrayed as a heroic figure, the Canela imagery was shaped by Awkhêê experiences of mercy and attachment towards his own people. The narrative of Awkhêê, a hero figure, not only provided an older view of the historical consciousness regarding their relations with the 'non-Indians', but also enforced the moral values of the community. Awkhêê articulated their origin story of their own revitalisation process, which highlighted expectations around behaviour as performed by the actions of the hero Awkhêê in both mythology and ancestry. The narrative here resembled what Corr (2010) observed as the "vehicle through which the imagery and symbolism of personal experience become part of the collective body of discourse that reproduces this imagery and symbolism" (Corr 2010:147). I argue that Awkhêê incarnated the virtues of generosity, love and compassion, and the Festival helps to re-emphasise key virtues in the lived experience. The myth expressed the essential ethics that structured life for the group. According to Corr (2010) "by performing the rites, people remember through ritual repetition" (see also Connerton 1989). Overall, I suggest that the Canela use the Festival as a way to remember and sustain particular traditional Canela values, as reflected symbolically in the primordial actions of their mythical heroic figure, Awkhêê. From the highly personalised and explicit empathetic acts of care, generosity and attentiveness acted out by the Masks, we are transported into the Canela's consciousness experience and attention to social values and organising principles. These are stories and theories about the origins of where and how the Canela learned to behave properly according to their specific sociable principles and primordial models. Origin stories became part of the collective body of knowledge that shaped Canela perceptions of their lived experience.

7.3 Masks' circumambulation and community

We have already touched on the argument that the Masks' circumambulations along specific pathways were an essential part of the celebration of the Festival.

Chapter Four showed how one of the main duties of the Masks involved marching from their shed in a block formation, anti-clockwise around the village circle (a broad street connecting the shed and the village), as can be seen in Figure 4.35, before returning to their shed. This involved running in line to every single Canela household. They repeated these sequences several times, with many of the inhabitants accompanying them. The performance required that the Masks traversed pathways together all night and repeatedly returned to their starting point, their shed. The main duties were to make sure that each Mask's spatial movements connected the shed (home of the Masks) and each Canela household to the centre of the village; they went around the boulevard anti-clockwise, stopping at about every fifth Canela house to sing and perform a dance:

He he he hilêlê nō

Tsiplô katê he kô'khlit

They kept doing this, but used a different radial pathway each time until all the pathways of the village (and the front of each family's house) had been traversed. (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). Crocker in his written documents reports the Canela's name for this activity as *The Pen Tsù Act*: (*pen* = honey; *tsù* = a kind of bee) (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). The Masks went running through these pathways over the course of several days, no matter how tired they might be. They had to visit every single Canela household, while the women ran behind them, carrying water and food on their backs. Running the Masks was physically uncomfortable as it involved long hours of running around the village to reach each Canela household. The Masks' horns made fast movements extremely difficult and only skilled people could do them well, according to Crocker, and the horns could also injure someone as they had extremely sharp points.

It is important that the Masks created, what Corr (2010:66), has been called elsewhere, a human line that snakes throughout the footpaths of the entire circular village. Whilst their spatial movements were of paramount importance, these festival experiences were also part of the obligatory socialising process that strengthened the relationships between the Masks and the women and between the Masks and each Canela family. Like Corr (2010) showed for the annual rounds performed by the Salasacan during the Catholic Feast days in the Ecuadorian Andes, I propose that through these performances the Masks were making "a place where through physical movements they were symbolically re-creating contact with the village and contact with each family group exclusively" (Corr 2010:67). In particular, the place where the pathways met, the central plaza, was the socialised space of community life, also the place used by the Masks to engage in publicly intimate ceremonial acts of food exchange and collective

meals with the villagers. The Festival circumambulations along the Canela pathways could be seen as a way to recreate the sense and intimacy of Canela community.

7.4 Going round together

“We do not ask what the paint means, but what purposes it serves, what it allows to be produced” (Lévi-Strauss, 2011:123).

Now we turn our attention to a particular design depicted on the Masks, which I suggest connects to another Canela sense of sociality. It has been argued that each Mask was supposed to have ears and eyes (Nimuendajú 1946; Crocker 1990; Paes 2004). Nimuendajú (1946:34) wrote how, of all the various ways of painting the Masks among the Canela, the most important was the *To-kaywew-re* design that consisted of two concentric circles, as can be seen in the Figure 4.17. Crocker noted how the uniqueness of the Canela Mask iconography, was composed by a circle, which in turn was the symbolic graphic pattern used to represent the eyes. More recently, Paes (2004) gave more details about the interpretation of this paint based on the material produced on the Masks collected by Nimuendajú (in 1935).⁹⁸ He writes how, in particular, the *To-kaywew-re* had three concentric black circles for each eye. Paes (2004), quoting Reis Lima, makes clear that these projections of three concentric circles were “identical to the space divisions of a Canela village, where the principal circle represents: 1) the centre of the village - the site of the social and public meeting in the community; 2) the next circle resembles the residential houses (local domestic groups, residential segments); and 3) the last circle represents the region where the wild animals and also non-Canela individuals lived” (Reis Lima quoted in Paes 2004: 114). Paes (2004), observed how “this iconographic paint comes to represent an integrative character of Canela sociability, representing in his eyes the synthesis of the Canela universe” (Reis Lima 2003: 78 quoted in Paes 2004:114).

7.5 Summary

The Festival celebration - not only recalls the Canela’s relationship with the outside world and its dominant forces (by tracing out local pathways and by the extinguishing of the fire as a way to remember an episode from the Canela’s origin story - but also became an important medium for sustaining their indigenous cultural memory. The circumambulations across the circular village of the Masks reinforced both symbolically and visually, an important link between the Canela groups and their land. Through their rounds, the Masks appear to have marked a defined space which physically connected each Canela household with the territorial and social boundaries of the village, which has been described as:

⁹⁸ Nimuendajú did research among the Canela and saw and very briefly described their Festival of Masks in 1935.

an existential place. That is a place in constant process of production and reproduction through the movements and activities of members of a group. It is experienced and created through life-activity, a sacred, symbolic and mythic space replete with social meanings wrapped around buildings, objects and features of the local topography, providing reference points and planes of emotional orientation for human attachment and involvement..... (Corr 2010: 61, quoting Christopher Tilley 1994:17).

This chapter has also shown links between the oral tradition of Awkhêê (a Canela cultural hero) and Canela Festival of Masks. The Festival celebration occupied a central position in expressing historical links to Canela social relations and events.⁹⁹ The next section provides additional historical information to contextualise the Canela's lifeways and society, in the years that preceded the festivals of 1960, 1964 and 1970.

⁹⁹ The Masks group was also composed of the naming-uncles who passed their knowledge of how to perform the Festival to their nephews. Thus, uncles occupied an important social position within the group, ensuring the ancient memory of how to construct the Festival and transmitted the knowledge to their youngest Mask performers (their nephews). The uncles occupy another important social position, as advisers of correct behaviour, in the life of their nephews.

Chapter Eight: Canela ethno-history

In Chapter Seven, I linked the imagery and practices of the Festival to the Canela's origin story and its mythical hero figure, Awkhêê. This narrative also represented the historic-ideological process through which the Canela described their meeting with the non-Indians. I argued that the Festival celebration was used to enforce important Canela values especially during times of intense change. In order to re-construct the correlation between the story of Awkhêê and how it may have intersected with the Festival celebration between 1960 and 1970, this section describes key aspects of Canela social history, providing ancillary information on the life of the group during the period of the Festival of Masks documented by Crocker.

The previous section found that Awkhêê's myth articulated the Canela origin story of their revitalisation process after a landmark change: the clash between their own, and non-Indians, systems of structuring and ordering the world. An important significance of the Awkhêê origin story relied on the Canela's faith in the transformations found in this myth (see Chapter Seven). In earlier times, Awkhêê had created the worlds of the *civilizados*, with horses, chickens and cattle ranches of the non-Indians, where all Canela could live in peace. As discussed earlier, in the Canela historical consciousness, Awkhêê was identified with the 'benevolent Dom Pedro II'. The treaty with this ruler (in the mid 1800s) permitted the Canela to conserve a small part of their territory where they lived far from the backlanders influence, until the mid-20th century. This study does not address in detail the historical process of the Canela's contact with the non-Indians, but this section provides important background information about the Canela's life, after the death of Dom Pedro II. Firstly, this chapter discusses how the group have had to face new change-provoking events during their long history of contact with the non-Indians due to key changes in the Canela relationship with non-Canela, Brazilian forces (since the time of Dom Pedro II). Especially the years between 1960, 1964 and 1970, when the Festival was held and recorded by the anthropologist and were described by him (Crocker 2004) as very difficult moments for the life of the group. The goal is to contextualise the interactions between the mythical figure Awkhêê, the Festival of Masks and the historical actors, the Canela. By holding the Festival three times in the period between 1960 and 1970, I argue that the group reinterpreted Awkhêê's allegorical component, the Canela's faith found in this myth to help them (discussed in Chapter Seven). The ceremony became an important medium for applying the community's symbolic structures and attitudes towards reciprocity to the confrontation between the Indians and the 'White' settlers, remembering Awkhêê's original contract of the mid 1800s, with the goal of the community restoring life-giving balance to relations between these two societies.¹⁰⁰ Corr (2010) posits that, through ritual action, the past informs the future

¹⁰⁰ The myth justifies what Crocker has described elsewhere "the Canela entitlement to handouts (begging) from the non-Indians" (Crocker 2004:11). But also Chapter Seven highlighted how historically, the Canela were a community of hunter-gathers, in which gestures of solicitation for food (begging) and compassionate attitude within the community were an important vehicle for the expression of their sociability.

about the present, a reality that can be articulated in myth, and has its roots in empowering principles for ethical living. Secondly, this chapter also considers in more detail Crocker's observation made in the 1970 that the Festival "would probably be lost because of the large investment of time necessary for weaving the body-sized Masks, which by mid-1970, was in direct competition with the time devoted by the Canela to clearing and preparing farms" (Crocker 2004:81). This chapter does not aim to systematically explore these aspects of Canela society in detail, but surveys Canela social organisation and how socio-political changes might also have impacted the holding of the Festival of Masks, for at least four and half decades until 2011. This builds on the existing literature published on Canela social organisation (e.g., Cunha 1973; Crocker 1990; 2004; 2007), while the systematic study of Crocker's archive demonstrates the important role of his records in supporting and challenging past Canela historical narratives. The chapter ends with Crocker's testimony of the Festival re-celebration, forty-one years after the event was last seen and recorded by him in 1970. The ceremony was, quite unexpectedly, re-celebrated during Crocker's last visit to the group in 2011. This testimony is necessarily brief, however, because no recorded or written documents were made. This information was provided to me during my interview with Crocker in 2016. Crocker stated, "In 2011, I went to the Canela, and my desire was to render homage to this beautiful people for the last time, as I know that unfortunately my age (ninety-years old at the time) would not allow me to go back. To my surprise, on the morning of my arrival in the community, the announcer informed us that the Festival of Masks was going to be staged" (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). The historical context provided in this chapter sets the stage for understanding how the power dynamics, embedded in these records, were not neutralised once they had entered the archives.

8.1 Impact of outsiders

This section begins with an important strand of the Canela's recent history.

When Crocker arrived among the Canela in 1957, the community had already had contact with outsiders for over 200 years. The group was iconcontacted by Portuguese military forces at the end of the 17th Century, although the Canela's relationship with the Brazilian settlers was far from peaceful until the mid 19th Century, when Dom Pedro II ascended to the throne - they surrendered to him between 1810-1820. It was during this period that the story around the myth of Awkhêê, as narrated in Chapter Seven, developed.

The previous chapter discussed how two elements occur in the genre of the myth. Firstly, a sense of time becomes historical instead of ahistorical with the coming of the non-Indians, the benevolent emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II, and their pacification of Indians in the 19th Century. Secondly, the myth was said to have originally given Brazilian settlers the wealth that the Canela had once coveted. Contrary to many other indigenous groups in Brazil, they established a subordinate but pacific relationship with the Empire of Dom Pedro II (Crocker 1990). The Canela chiefs tried with various degrees of success to get along with imperial officials and in return, in 1845, Dom Pedro II allowed them to have land along the Santo

Estevão Stream (a small part of their ancestral territory) (Crocker 2004:19).¹⁰¹ In 1957, an important Canela elder and teller of the myth, called 'Hanging Fish', explained to Crocker how Awkhê's myth reminded them of one of the most profound changes which occurred in their life: the confrontation between their own and non-Indian systems of structuring, ordering and operating in the world. The story goes on with Hanging Fish's explanation of how Dom Pedro II established good relationships with the Canela, as they received a small part of their ancestral territory from him, the assigned land that they still occupy today. The Canela accepted the deal limitation because they identified Dom Pedro with the hero Awkhê. The Awkhê myth seems to have dictated that the generous attitudes of Dom Pedro permitted the Canela to have rectified an inappropriate relationship with the dominant forces (non-Indians), which anticipated their revitalisation process, ensuring the group maintained a small part of their ancestral territory.

A sense emerges that this revitalisation arrived at a very precise and expected moment for the community. From that time, the Canela remained hidden in an inconspicuous valley in the north-western part of their ancestral lands, completely hidden away from settler's communities, living in considerable peace and according to their traditions, at least until the beginning of the 20th Century. The myth establishes a sense of time in which the past, present and future can be experienced as an intersecting series of events. Another story surrounding the Canela and the treaty with the Brazilian settlers was told to Crocker in 1957, by Alligator Tail (Antonio Diogo).¹⁰² The story starts:

Individual Canela had to sneak daily from a valley to fetch water from a spring. Eventually they were seen from a distance by settlers, who reported the presence of dangerous wild savages to the military. One day, the story goes, an army major with troops sent from Sao Luis to tame the Indians approached the area of the hidden valley, and a group of Canela scouts fired on them with shotguns from a hill. Forewarned by their scouts, the Canela armed themselves and left the village to set up a defensive position. One young warrior, however, whom the Elders were considering as a potential chief, said he was tired of spending his life hiding in a mountain valley. He said they should give themselves up and that he would act as the go-between with the soldiers. Thus, the young Hii-khro (Flesh's-Tail) descended alone and unarmed to the troop's encampment. The soldiers prepared to fire, but their commandant ordered to wait. Flesh's-Tail approaching said, 'Do not kill me', but they could communicate only through hand gestures. They shook hands and embraced. The commandant asked where the Canela were, and Flesh's Tail pointed to the hills. Since they believed him, they offered him a meal and named him Mesquite. The commandant showed Mesquite the

¹⁰¹ By the end of the 1830s, the Canela were occupying only around 5% of the old gathering areas of their original territory.

¹⁰² This older story was probably from the late 1810s or early 1820s, when Alligator Tail's ancestors, hidden from the 'settlers', decided on actual pacification with the settlers.

presents brought for his people – machetes, axes, cloth, dried meat – and requested that Mesquite summon his people to come out of the valley, saying that his soldiers would not harm them. Mesquite went back to his people, where their chief, Tempe, assembled them. After Mesquite had spoken, Chief Tempe supported him and said, ‘Let’s deliver ourselves; they will not kill us (Crocker 2004:16).

The story continues with Crocker emphasising how Antonio Diogo, Alligator Tail, in his 80s in 1958, “with his voice, weakened by age, communicated the fear with which his grandparents descended onto the unprotected savannah” (Crocker 2004:16). However, Crocker posits how by this time the attitude toward Indians was changing, since they were no longer a threat in the area. They were given the presents, and cattle were killed for the Canela to eat (Crocker 2004:16). He (Antonio Diogo), ¹⁰³ seemed to suggest to Crocker that besides the general invasion caused by the Brazilian settlers and the Canela’s loss of sovereignty over the major part of their ancestral territory, the impending reconstruction of their present traditional world, resulted because of the non-Indian’s experiences of mercy and generosity. It is proposed that the mythic narrative for the Canela, serves to imagine a world in which, although threatening, the force for change can be positively manipulated by the compassionate acts of generous persons (Awkhê/ Dom Pedro II). As Ewart (2013:39) notes for the Panará, and similarly for the Canela, “the history of Panará society, as they construct in their myth, is characterised by the acquisition of desirable things from the non-Indians, as a way to establish and endure a social relationship with the outsiders”.¹⁰⁴ The importance of the non-Indians gifting was a way to mediate personal, social and cultural differences.

In Brazil, there is evidence from historical sources that, for example, the Tupian communities which were sedentary groups who lived near the Amazonian coast and who were affected dramatically by disease and by Portuguese slaving, more mobile people from the cerrado, like the Timbira groups (similar to the Canela), were able to raid the European farms and cattle ranches until the mid-19th Century (Flowers 1994). Since the non-Indian needed to live close to the river, they did not reach the Canela interior. This distance and a treaty with the Dom Pedro II Empire gave the community considerable space in which to live in relative peace and to develop a peaceful way of life during the 19th Century. Perhaps, historical accounts posit

¹⁰³ According to Crocker’s personal notes “Antonio Diogo was the living historical library to whom Canela sent me for knowledge about the tribe when I first arrived. He died in 1960” (Crocker 2004:43).

¹⁰⁴ The Indians of Amazonia (and of Brazil in general) have faced the problem of how to protect their traditional lands from the exploitation of natural resources for centuries. Wolf (1982) posits that indigenous cultures are the result of historical processes and difficult cultural encounters, primarily through the mechanisms of slavery, warfare and disease in the decades after initial contact was made with European colonisers (Wolf 1982), but these processes must be understood as they develop in particular contexts. Perhaps in Amazonia, Little posits how “due to the region’s enormous area, the large number of small, indigenous societies, and the difficulties of physical access to, and communication with, specific regions, produced a situation whereby contact between differing indigenous peoples and invading forces did not occur in a short compressed period, as with the Aztec and Inca civilizations, but extended over the past five centuries and still continues today” (Little 2004:25).

how it was only during the last decade of the mid 20th Century, that incursions in the Canela territory occurred more frequently (Flowers 1994; Crocker 1990).

When Emperor Dom Pedro II died in 1889 and the Republic was founded, the authorities declared a new policy toward the indigenous people in Brazil. By the first decade of the 20th Century, with the formation of a Brazilian state agency for the ‘fraternal protection’ of indigenous peoples in 1910, that would eventually be known as the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (SPI), by military engineer Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the Canela entered another phase of their history (Crocker 2004). The agency foundation (SPI) principally was associated with land policy, specifically the need to use Indian lands for colonisation by non-Indians or for state development projects (Little 2004). The establishment of the Indian Protection Service by the Brazilian Government and its replacement: the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) in 1967, represented what Little has described as: “an attempt by the Brazilian Government to assimilate the remaining indigenous societies into the dominant population - a process known as ‘the pacification of the hinterland’” (Little 2004: 32). During this period, indigenous peoples and their lands were “under the direct aegis of the federal Government and with the promulgation of ‘the Indian Statute’, they were legally classified as ‘minors’ and were considered to be ‘relatively incapable’ of exercising full Brazilian citizenship” (Alcida Ramos 1998; Verduin 2006:41; but also Brand 2003; Little 2004). Although these were long-term efforts by the Brazilian state, many indigenous societies displayed numerous forms of passive and active resistance that guaranteed their survival (Little 2004).

For the Canela, the years following the implementation of the SPI until the late 1950s, were redefined by Crocker (2004) in terms of the ‘alliance’ between the community and the Indian Service, now embodied by the tutelary power exercised by the SPI, particularly through the emblematic figure of Cândido Rondon.¹⁰⁵ The symbolism of this presence was, as described by Crocker, very closely associated to the role attributed to “Dom Pedro II” by the Awkhê myth in earlier times, being said to compensate the Canela for the wealth they gained by occupying the Canela’s territory. By the mid-20th Century, the Canela had been given considerable quantities of goods and food, such as salt and even staples such as manioc flour and rice by the Indian Service (Crocker 2004). For example, the anthropologist writes how the community came entirely to rely on the Indian Service for food during the lean months of the agricultural cycle: October, November and December. Like many indigenous peoples in Brazil, Ewart (2013) posits that ‘manufactured goods’ “have played a pivotal role in the emerging relationships between Panará people and other groups. Indeed, this engagement started to become more frequent with the first approaches of the FUNAI expedition sent out to make

¹⁰⁵ Cândido Mariano Rondon, a military man, was the founder of the Indian Protection Service (SPI) and mentor of a policy of protection by the State and spontaneous integration of the Indians into Brazilian society after the Brazilian independence in 1888. Rondon was figuratively associated by the Canela with the mythical hero, Awkhê, as had happened for Dom Pedro II (Crocker 2004).

peaceful contact with the communities, when, as in many other contact stories, trade goods such as metal axes, knives, glass bead, and cooking pots were used as a way of signaling peaceful intentions and building up a sustained relationship” (Ewart 2013: 38). Similarly, for the Canela, we have come to understand how the high morale of the group was encouraged by the generous attitude of the Indian officials, who carried out "the charges of Awkhêê", offering large benefits and gifts to the community, which justified the indigenous people's dependency on the 'whites' and legitimised their practice of begging (topic discussed in more detail in Chapters Four, Six and Seven). These gifts were seen by the Canela as compensation for loss of authority on their territory. Crocker says:

In 1958 I carried out a study of Canela attitude toward begging when they told me the myth of Awkhêê (or Dom Pedro II). The myth enabled the Canela to preserve some dignity in spite of their low social position the loss of their original land. The Canela's insistence of his right to be taken care of became 'traditional' and institutionalized. The analyst of Canela culture must not underestimate the importance of this attitude, which has enabled the Canela to maintain relatively high morale since the mid-1800 (Crocker 2004:18).

Rondon's death in 1958 had a strong impact on the group, especially due to the symbolism of his presence being so closely associated with that attributed to the "white" by the Awkhêê myth. After his death, the Indian Service in Rio De Janeiro changed their policy towards the Indians. From 1956 onward, many indigenous groups throughout the Amazonia region were affected by new governmental development actions that had the goal of more intensively exploiting the natural resources of the Amazon due to the economic growth of Brazil in general, which was expanding from the coastal cities into the interior (Little 2004). One of the main actions of internal expansion in the Amazon region started in 1956 (Crocker 2004).¹⁰⁶ The Canela were affected dramatically by this new political agenda which coincided with the first substantial bridge built in their region which permitted lorries en route to the cities to enter their territory. Crocker (2004) posits how until then only mule trains, small boats coming from Sao Luis, or small airplanes could easily reach their village. By the 1960s, the advance of farms on the

¹⁰⁶ Key development projects coincided with the invasion of indigenous lands in the Amazonia region in the period shown here. In 1957, in addition to the construction of the Belem-Brasilia highway, which linked the north of Brazil to the central south, the power of regional coordination of development projects was increased with the creation of public agencies (Little 2004). For example, the Banco de Credito da Amazonia acquired more powers and resources from the government with the aim of developing western Amazonia, these being extended by foreign companies. The rhetoric of 'national development' as described by Little (2004) impacted dramatically on the economic stability of the people of the region. For example, the Guarani-Kaiowa with the constant presence of ranches in the limits of their territory (Brand 2003 cited in Iuvaro 2012); and the Yanomami with the invasion of miners and mining projects within their lands; the Nambikwara, who had problems with both cattle-raising companies and with the course of the BR-364 highway (Polonoroest) (Little 2004). In addition there were large development projects granted by the Banco de Credito da Amazonia and other public institutions, such as the rubber extraction industry and various other economic groups when affected the life of the Indians. They suffered the influence of itinerant traders invading their lands to collect nuts, latex, copaiba oil and other products (Posey 1994; Fisher 2000).

residual territory of the Canela, became more frequent and affected the group's hunting activities and more dramatically resulted in the destruction of the native territory, with the progress of the 'cattle raising economy' (and sertanejo culture) and disputes with farmers of the sertão over small areas of planting (Crocker 2004). According to Crocker this population pressure pushed the Timbira tribes, such as the Fox, Canela and the Pukoby, into the northern parts of their ancestral territories and into the protection of the hills and forests, diminishing the lands they controlled by 70% to 90%. By 1960, in addition, as described elsewhere by Ewart (2013:38) "the positive policy of giving generously was described as weak" by the community. The Canela principally refer to the FUNAI's failure to provide things for the community (Crocker 2004:131). This seemed to have necessitated a recurrence of the help from their hero-figure, Awkhêê (Cunha 1973; Crocker 2004). Because of the difficult situation caused by the constant presence of the Brazilian settlers in their territory, because of the incapacities of the Indian Service to help them, the community was afflicted by seasonal endemic hunger. Overall, the years between 1959 and 1970 were landmark ones for change in the Canela community due to more frequent invasion by the non-Indian settlers, and by the degenerative relationship with the Indian Service officials.¹⁰⁷ The "Canela were ready to ask for help from their hero-figure, Awkhêê, who would redress the wrongs they were suffering as he did it back in the mid-1800s (Cunha 1973; and Crocker 2004:30).¹⁰⁸

8.2 The Festival of Mask ceremony in 1960, 1964 and 1970

By coincidence, Crocker visited the Canela in 1960, in 1964 and in 1970. These dates are important for the purpose of this thesis, because the Festival of Masks was precisely celebrated and recorded by the anthropologist on each of these three visits. It was during these years that Crocker produced the voluminous visual material that has been systematically studied for this PhD. Building on the ethnographic literature produced on the Canela during these years (Cunha 1973; Crocker 1990; 2004), I present an overview of the most important events which precede

¹⁰⁷ The Indian Service had different degrees of influence among the Indians around all Brazil. For years, the Canela leaders or 'caciques' used peaceful ties with the officials to conserve an area which provided them with about 500 square miles of closed savannahs and streams lined by gallery forests (Crocker 2004). This amount of land was however not only insufficient for supporting themselves in their traditional hunting and gathering practices, but especially not appropriate for gathering fruits, roots and seeds in their traditional manner. They had to resort to 'slash and burn horticulture' (Miller 2016) which had sustained less than 25% of their former traditional way of life. According to Crocker "since nothing could be planted in the sandy savannahs, and since the gallery forest soils could support only one crop a year, they were moving their village up and down the Santo Estevao's region and to the other streams in their area, and returning to the same place years later, when the gallery forests had grown tall enough to provide sufficiently fertile soils (Crocker 2004:13). In addition, the 1960s was a time of a great turmoil and controversy for the SPI. Successively, the scandals, which involved various episodes of dramatic internal corruption, the agency was abolished in 1967, and a new agency, the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) was established the following year (Little 2004).

¹⁰⁸ Between 1960 -70, they suffered more aggressive invasion from the pastoral and agricultural families (Crocker 2004:32). During this period, the anthropologist reinforces the fact that the community experienced dramatic moments of starvation and demoralisation (Crocker 2004:32).

the ceremony.

In 1960, when the Festival was seen and recorded by the anthropologist for the first time, the Canela started a period of frenetic dancing and feasting. It is proposed that the community in the Ponto village was affected negatively by the declining generosity of the Indian Protection Service in the months preceding the Festival's celebrations. According to Crocker's description, the continuing misuse of power and abuse of land by the non-Indians, resulted in what he has called, "a negative balance of power, the non-Indians had failed to demonstrate gratitude towards the Indians" (Crocker 2004:34). An important event which occurred a few years later, in January 1963, before the second Festival's celebration, which was also recorded by the anthropologist in 1964, is shown below.

A woman around 40 years old called Maria Castello/Kee-Khwei, had what has been described by Crocker (2004) and Carneiro da Cunha (1973) as a psychic experience. She was working in her family field when the fetus in her womb began to communicate with her. Specifically, Crocker (2004) and Cunha (1973) wrote how Kee-Khwei, or Maria, received a prophetic message from the child in her womb, whom she predicted would be a girl. The child identified herself as the sister of Awkhêê, and announced that he would come again to help the community, but this time, with her birth it would reverse the roles of the Indians and Whites. Because the 'White' had not kept up his end of the bargain, and they were no longer generously supporting them, giving them what they needed, Awkhêê would come again. But this time, Awkhêê's original contract of the mid 1800s would be reversed, he would switch roles between the non/Indians and the Indians. The heart of Maria's prophecy, was that Awkhêê would come back in a new world governed by the Canela (Crocker 2004). The Canela would become agriculturalists while the people with 'the white faces' would live in the forest, hunting and gathering (Crocker 2004:30). It is important to remember that the Canela were more hunter-gatherers than settled farmers. This was a solution that according to Crocker (2004) would be carried out by a new Canela leader, Thunder, in the following years. The heart of Maria's prophecy, was that the Canela would enjoy extraordinary material wealth, while whites would descend into poverty (Cunha 1973). In a matter of weeks, the prophetess became the focus of a cult, that has been called a messianic movement, which supplanted the society's traditional leadership, leading Crocker to remark that "Maria had become a leader of greater power, stronger than the traditional chiefs had been. She was carried between villages by her followers, seated in village plazas, and honoured by visitors who would kiss her abdomen, the site of the spiritual being whom she promised to bring forth. Surely Awkhêê would not forget his people" (Crocker 2004:30). Crocker posits how as the news of the prophecy spread among the community, some of them began to rustle cattle from nearby ranches, a move that Maria eventually supported, arguing that cattle belonged to everyone and they needed them in order to supply food during the constant feasting. Crocker's description of these acts was characterised by an intensification of aggressiveness towards the Indians by the Brazilian settlers. But as Crocker writes: "ranchers whose cattle were being stolen attacked Canela settlements, leaving six Indians wounded and five dead" (Crocker 2004:31). According to the anthropologist (2004), the cult faced a crisis when Maria delivered a stillborn male baby rather

than the promised spirit-girl. Maria was discredited and the movement died. Nevertheless, the Indian Protection Service moved the community to another location for their own safety. In 1963 the Canela were moved to the Guajajara Indians' reservation, just north of their territory, where the closed savannahs end and the forest begins. There in the dry forest lived the Guajajara Indians, who practiced a more extensive agriculture. The Canela remained in exile with them until 1968, when they were able to return home (Crocker 2004). Crocker posits how the five years away from their home appeared to be a difficult time for the group. During this time, they had to live with the Guajajara, hunting and gathering were rarely carried out successfully and the Canela were starving most of the time, especially, during 1963, relying on 'hand-outs' from the Indian Service. Gathering, and particularly hunting, in the dry forest was also, according to the anthropologist, more difficult because it required knowledge of the game's habits, which the Canela did not have. On the positive side Crocker writes: "led by the young Thunder, they were eventually taught how to till the soil by the Guajajara and they had started to produce an ample surplus of food which permitted them to survive in their new environment. Periodically, they would move toward the agricultural solution in the forest by organising smaller farms outside the village, clearing the brush and trees with stones, axes and fires" (Crocker 2004:32). They arranged their families according to their customary order, in extended households, this new solution was a way for the Canela to maintain their traditional shared form of collective labour (formerly collective hunting and gathering activities) in the new reserve.

The prophetess's declining influence is important as the Festival of Masks was re-celebrated by the Canela a year after her decline, precisely in 1964, four years after the 1960 celebration. By 1964, the main difference in their lives lay in the group's adoption of the agricultural solution (Crocker 2004). The group, headed by Thunder, started to organise larger farms and began converting the surplus into cash after a year of intense struggle in 1963.¹⁰⁹ Although Maria was deposed as the leader and discredited by the community because she had encouraged the Canela to fight settlers again and because of her abuse of power, it is believed the prophecy she set in motion had a good deal of efficacy (Cunha 1973). Crocker posits how "having enraged the non-Indians, by the theft of their cattle, the Canela had to face the consequences of their actions, forced into exile in the Guajajara's reserve. But the Canela's faith in Awkhêê's reappearance to save them, and in the transformation found in this myth, helped the group maintain a positive-self-image and successfully carry out communal farmers' work,¹¹⁰ even

¹⁰⁹ Under the leadership of Thunder, as reported by Crocker, while at Sardinha on the Guajajara reservation, from 1963 until 1968, the Canela began making artifacts for sale in great numbers. This occurred because the village of Sardinha was close enough to Barra do Corda to be visited by local citizens and even tourists from other states, who paid high prices. "In earlier years, when Canela groups visited cities on the coast and later in Brasilia, they made and took artifacts to sell. It was not until the exile period in Sardinha, however, that they began making them in large quantities" (Crocker 1990:99).

¹¹⁰ In earlier times, the Canela supported themselves more by hunting and gathering and even fishing than by agriculture (Nimuendajú 1946:57). But especially, during the years spent in the Guajajara's reserve a growing interest in communal agriculture was intensified (Crocker 1990: 94). During June and July, groups of men cleared

though it was based more on the non-Indian way of life than on the Canela one, at least economically” (Crocker 2004:31).¹¹¹ Importantly, the Festival celebration was one of the largest ceremonies sponsored twice in 1960 and in 1964 and again, after a few years the Canela were able to return from exile in the Sardinha village in the Guajajara reserve to their home land in Escalvado village, in 1970.

These dates were significant moments for the group. The Festival celebration therefore incorporated the allegorical component of Awkhêê to help them (see Chapter Seven). As highlighted in the introduction of this chapter, the ceremony became an important medium for applying the community practices towards generosity to the confrontation between the Indians and the non-Indians, remembering Awkhêê’s original contract of the mid-1800s. In the group’s historical consciousness, Awkhêê (/Dom Pedro II) symbolised the virtues of generosity, love and compassion. And, as suggested in Chapter Seven, the Festival served to restore these memorable virtues in the lived experience of the Canela through the Mask’s performance. For instance, compassion was one of the most important picture-like qualities of the Masks, performed during the ceremony. The myth supplied a map of ways in which to generate social revitalisation, through ritual actions. Modeled after the lesson of Awkhêê’s myth, the Festival contained a figurative and visual map of how to empower Canela identity and to restore their life giving-balance simultaneously, given the times of adversity. For instance, the fire allegory recreated in the Festival, remembering an episode from their original story¹¹² designated a simultaneous social transmutation and cultural retention (giving= empowering). Meanwhile,

the underbrush on each other’s farm plots with machetes. Usually, between 6 and 12 young men (relatives, affines and friends) worked actively for several days before the job on one farm was completed. Both women and men weed and plant crops, while clearing brush, felling trees, burning fields was men’s work. (Crocker 1990:95).

¹¹¹ The emphasis on the agricultural solution was based on the Canela idea of reciprocal cooperation that was influenced by their traditional organizational forms of subsistence (hunter-gatherer). Traditionally, the Canela has also been described as people who went on trek for parts of the period, while their planted crops were growing (November through January), or during parts of the summer after their festival season was ended (June through August /September or October) (Crocker 1990). Interestingly, Crocker posits how an important support factor of their new form of economy not well documented today is ‘share-cropping’ with backland families from November through December, where a typical situation of reciprocal cooperation can be gained by these activities. The anthropologist explains how the Canela family, during specific times of year, prefer to live close to a Brazilian family house, and grates manioc roots for the backlanders, but keeping half for themselves. The non-Indian families could also borrow hunting equipment from a Canela, who then shares his catch with the backland family. The anthropologist writes: “The Canela economic support through this kind of share-cropping should not be underestimated. It seems that these collective exchanges were developed out by the past Canela reciprocal cooperative form of organisation of production” (Crocker 1990: 96).

¹¹² Topic discussed in Chapter Seven. In the Canela’s own origin story, Awkhêê was threatened by his uncles who tried to push him into a bonfire to kill him, but he escaped the death and he turned himself into the first civilizado and created the backland society and economy. Previous sections of this thesis have shown how in the middle part of the ceremony, the Festival required that each family of the village light a small bonfire on the pathway in front of their house during the early evening darkness. One of the Masks’ main duties was to pretend to put out the fires of the household by moving in line slowly around the pathways several times counter-clockwise swishing their skirts over and across each bonfire.

the practice of begging, played out by the Mask's performances, could be seen as a way of inverting their history of inequality and maintaining solidarity with each other and their land (topic discussed in detail in Chapter Seven).

8.3 Toward the 21st century

Interestingly, it was during 1970 that Crocker wrote about how the Festival of Masks would probably be lost because of the large investment of work necessary for weaving the 40 to 50 body-sized Masks, and how he was able to record it for the last time. The Festival was set aside from 1970, until very recently, when the community re-celebrated it in 2011, after more than four decades. This section on historical background, as we move closer to the present (from the 1970s to 2011) now presents a brief overview of key Canela changes to customary practices in food production and consumption, between the 1970 event to more recently, when the Festival was re-celebrated.

With the 21st Century, a new challenge emerged for the indigenous people of Brazil (including the Canela): guaranteeing that their territory, formally recognised by the Federal Government, offered viable means for their sustenance (Little 2004). Overall, the years between 1970 and 1999 were another landmark time for Canela changes and for the Indians in general. The first indigenous organisations began to appear in Brazil as part of a movement that affected all of the Americas. Little (2004) posits how it was during the 1980s that the engagement of civil society mainly through social movements, and the importance of including traditional population rights into the legal system was highlighted. By 1988 these early organisations had a strongly political nature, "since they sought to promote and protect the specific rights of indigenous peoples as distinct from, yet part of, the larger national society" (Little 2004:17). Verdum (2006), highlights the importance of these new political movements because he says, although Brazil's national identity was founded in a 'blend of many colours and cultures', it was not until 1991 that Brazil started to collect data on ethnicity through the census, introducing the category of indigenous population (Verdum 2006:35). The new national Constitutions of Brazil (1988), Colombia (1991), Ecuador (1998) and Venezuela (1999) effectively enshrined these rights in their respective national legal systems" (Little 2004:18). Similarly, Crocker (2004) relates how this change of attitude towards Indian cultures and traditions led to 'pan-Indian political activism' which developed in Brazil and through which Indians of different communities were able to communicate with one another during a national conference. On these occasions, delegates of indigenous groups all over Brazil were sent to the main urban centre to discuss indigenous policies and priorities. The intense growth of the national indigenous rights organisation and the national confederation of indigenous people in Brazil which protected their rights and promoted their interests positively, affected the lives of many groups in Brazil. Through these organisations the communities participated in dialogue with other indigenous leaders to protect their rights and promote their interests (Brand 2003). Crocker (2004) relates how in these important conferences the Canela, for example, were lectured publicly for the first time on the worth of their culture and urged to create different cultural events organised nationally and locally. Among public policies guided by the Ministry

of Culture, created in 2004, there was a programme that was most closely related to the idea of promoting access to traditional cultures that existed all over the country, called “Cultura Viva” (Living Culture).¹¹³ Created in 2004, through an ordinance and turned into Law (number 13.018) in 2015, Cultura Viva was a national State policy implemented by the Secretariat of Citizenship and Cultural Diversity, under the Ministry of Culture. Some of its main objectives were: to increase Brazilians’ access to the country’s cultural assets; to expand culture, education and citizenship, providing opportunities for the excluded populations to develop their artistic vocations and to disseminate them in all of their expressions. The Canela have participated favourably in these movements according to Crocker (2004), and the meetings organised periodically, took their participants by bus, to the main Brazilians cities where the indigenous groups were invited to sing, dance and show off their culture.

Within the political sphere, changes were slower in coming, but by the 1980s, Little (2004:18) posits “the previously dominant ideology of ‘integrating’ indigenous peoples into the national body politic, and hence eliminating their ethnic identity by turning them into ‘national’ citizens, began to give way to new concepts which recognised the rights of ethnic minorities to maintain their cultural institutions and control the natural resources located within their territories”. From then on, there was a need to make indigenous territories economically viable and environmentally sustainable, such that indigenous peoples would be able to develop a dignified livelihood within their lands for generations to come. Like indigenous people throughout Latin-America, small-scale sustainable development projects were promoted from the 1970s until more recently (Little 2004:32). The Canela, in particular, had to face the challenge of becoming subsistence horticulturalists who were able to maintain relatively large plots (around 1 hectare) using slash-and-burn cultivation methods with metal hand tools (Miller 2016).

Crocker writes how with the significant increase in population likely to continue into the 1980s, the question of whether the land would support the Canela was becoming very important. He reports how:

In 1979, an Indian service agronomist lived at the Escalvado post for several weeks to study the question. ‘Quick rice’ (*arroz ligeiro*) was provided, which was supposed to enable the Canela to plant two crops a year instead of one. There was much talk about cutting down and fencing in a large area of land in which most of the Canela could plant their crops. Unfortunately, backlander cattle invariably broke down the fences of the gardens and destroyed large portions of the crops before they could be stopped. In 1979, the Indian service *delegado* in Barra do Corda allowed the Canela to shoot such cattle. Consequently, the backlanders had to watch their cattle more carefully in order to

¹¹³ The Ministry of Culture, was however dismantled along with the elimination of other ministries responsible for a series of key public areas such as human rights, recently, in 2017 by Temer’s Government, the former vice-president who is now Brazil’s Head of State.

prevent them from invading the Canela lands. This helped the situation considerably, but it was not a final solution (Crocker 1990:86).

Extensive agriculture was not a traditional practice for the group. Between the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s into the 2000s there were other landmark changes in state-indigenous relations. The community started to receive more regular supervision for the implementation of productive activities and the management of their resources promoted by small-scale sustainable development projects and local agencies. Several projects were implemented in different indigenous groups, like the Canela, in order to lead the communities to become self-sufficient and independent of non-Indigenous monetary and material support¹¹⁴ (Iuvaro 2012). By 2008, new income then started to come from government sources such that, virtually every Canela household had some form of regular monetary income in the form of a salary, a pension, agricultural retirement pensions, medical disability, maternity assistance and school student support introduced by President Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva in 2003 (Crocker 2004; Ewart 2013).¹¹⁵

Like many indigenous people throughout Latin America, the Canela realised that they had to adopt some of “the ways of the modern world, or the world of the ‘whites’ as they called it” (Crocker 2004:131). However, as the Canela gave up 'wasteful feasting' (as for example was done in the Festival of Mask's celebration back in 1970) and many families started to keep producing for themselves, Crocker reports how they were also consciously wrestling with the problem of how to do so without losing their Canela identity (Crocker 2004:131).

¹¹⁴ During my MPhil research in Brazil, I gained important experience working on two participatory developmental projects with two indigenous communities from Central Brazil: the Kadiweu and the Terena. The fieldwork was carried out under the auspices of the Dom Bosco Catholic University, in Campo Grande, between January 2010 and 2012. The projects were funded by the State Department of Mato Grosso do Sul with the collaboration of the local authorities of Campo Grande and Bodoquena. They were under the directive of the International Forum for Enhancing the Role of Indigenous Women in Sustainable Development at the national level in Brazil. The projects aimed at improving the income of a group of indigenous women by selling ceramics (Kadiweu) and vegetables (Terena) in the cities nearest their villages. The research investigated the social organisation of these two traditional village communities, by looking at various independent aspects of their functioning. The thesis posits how it is extremely important for those who work within the frame of development projects in indigenous communities, such as government, civil societies and other institutions, to probe into various aspects of the social and cultural fabric of the societies concerned. As the work examined the problems that arose when external values and objectives, namely the two state departments' participatory-based projects, came into conflict with these local cultures and traditional native socio-economic structures.

¹¹⁵ During his presidency, the Federal Government funded several education programmes in the indigenous reserve, like the Canela's. A great number of schools were built inside the communities, and in 2002 there was an experimental school started by the Canela, who went to study in the nearest city - Barra do Corda, where they became teachers in their own school, and officials of the FUNAI were slowly replaced by native caciques (the traditional indigenous authorities), or indigenous representatives. By 2001, Crocker posits, how they had three trained Canela medical assistants, and many were receiving funds from the government, just as in Brazilian towns and farming communities.

The Canela like to give manioc to others, to relatives. They like to give to those who do not have any manioc.... Moreover, during a big Festival the Canela know only how to hurt themselves, because they consume too much manioc flour, feasting. They make large meat pies so that the supply of manioc dwindles until there is no more, so then, where is the manioc for them to sell?... The Canela do not sell manioc flour in Barra do Corda because we use it all up in the village festivals... (a Canela diarist, Relaxed-One quoted in Crocker 2004: 132).

The message is part of another important project developed by Crocker since the 1960s, namely his use of Canela research assistants to write, and later tell, their current life stories, in the form of diaries in both their own language and in Portuguese. According to the anthropologist these ran up to 2014 (W. Crocker, interview, 2015). He posits how the propensities of the Canela writer, named Relaxed-One, are customary; but her awareness of their harmfulness (sharing large quantities of food whilst feasting, as was the case during past Festival of Mask's celebrations) is modern. "The inability, or reluctance, to translate the Canela practices of sharing into a system of taxation for the benefit of the community may be hard to understand unless we remember that they were basically food collectors with little horticulture and they were certainly not settled agriculturalists like other Brazilian Indians" (Crocker 2004:132). He goes on and writes that, as recently as the 1950s, individuals exchanged goods with each other, most of them gave to please the other party and expected to be pleased in return. "Until the 1990s, the Canela, could not even raise cattle, because they did not have the values to resist anger for meat, so they killed it before it could grow up to reproduce" (Crocker 2004:132). In Canela assessment a good and generous person, had nothing to do with how much the person could afford to give. "A good person gave food whenever requested, but who refused to give, when food was actually in his storage room, was thought to be evil and without compassion" (Crocker 2004:19). As suggested by Fisher's (2000), "the widespread enthusiasms with the policy embraced by most NGOs and conservationists within different indigenous groups - that of encouraging involvement in markets on the basis of fair prices and sustainable practices - remains problematic" (Fisher 2000:194). This does not imply the existence of modern ideas about economy and governance.¹¹⁶ Optimistically the Canela expressed their hopes for a solution in their diaries, and as Crocker posits, "eventually the Canela may gain the attitudes and skills to make the projects work and become trained in money management" (Crocker 2004:132). However, it seems that this inclination (producing for themselves) somewhat contradicted the most important Canela attitude of sharing large quantities of food when

¹¹⁶ Another factor that made difficult it for the Canela to become more self-sufficient in producing successfully within their farm plots was, according to Crocker's notes, their ancient custom of begging. "Individuals in need simply went around the village asking for food from relatives and non-relatives alike. Thus, if a person's crops had been destroyed by backland cattle, or if he simply did not put in a large enough farm plot, she or he just went begging to make up the difference. Women and men who had planted large farms, and thereby had sufficient family foods for the year, were required by custom to supply those in need with an ample supply of foods. Thus, even hard workers had to resort to sharecropping on backland farms to make up for the food they had furnished others" (Crocker 1990:86).

feasting, as expressed indirectly by Relaxed One. In a poignant letter to Crocker in May, 2002, (see above), she suggested how these practices remained an important, even essential aspect in the maintenance of group social cohesion, even if this was translated into a certain ‘inability to make their stock of supplies (like manioc) last until the following year’. Although the Canela may have re-oriented, as other Gê-groups did, the way in which food is produced as they became more settled agriculturalists (Crocker 2004) and even exchanged as suggested by Fisher (2000), one must be sensitive to the period under consideration. While it is certain that the Canela were hunter - gatherers generation ago, which explains their emphasis on sharing, supported by a number of festival acts found in the Festivals of Masks, in a recent written document addressed to Crocker, the Canela’s ex-leader, the older Thunder, exhorted the group “to revive the old way of life, to behave and dress in the traditional ways. If they did this Awkhêê would come and save them again from an impending flood” (Crocker 2004:34). Thunder, back in the 1960s, led the community during their exile, when the Festival was celebrated in 1964 and 1970. This document has its values as it was written a few years before the re-celebration of the Festival in 2011. Thus, I believe that the celebration of the Festival of Masks in the 21st Century might have been shaped by, and reflected, the community’s concern about their future and their identity as a group. This might have caused them to take a retrospective look at their own tradition based on their faith in Awkhêê’s principles and community values. Through visual analysis of Crocker’s archive documentation, this work proposed that a greater understanding of the past social importance of sharing in the formation of the Canela personhood can be gained through the description of the Festival of Masks.

In *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives*, Janet Hoskins (1998) observed that ‘when words fail us, our possessions speak’. Taking this observation as a reference, the study of Crocker’s archive collection shows how his records had the capacity to break silences surrounding Canela material culture, especially its Mask tradition together with the skills involved in making and using these associated objects, which remained hidden for long periods of time, most notably during political change in Brazil. In such a context, the Festival of Masks may have been put aside because the practice of weaving these bodily sized Masks was considered unsustainable or more difficult to make, due to the increased labour required for agricultural activities, such as cleaning and preparing the farms, which intensified among the group from the mid-1960s. Although my own field-based research into understanding the images and objects in the archive has heightened my awareness of how Crocker’s archival and historical images can still be identified and actualised in the present. The images represent important aspects of Canela life, and specifically their interactions and practices which are indicative of the community’s ideas of how to live well, and the collective social life they achieved by such practices. These are stories and theories about particular key Canela values and modes of conduct. In answer to one of the interview questions about the ceremony, Crocker’s eyes became expressively open when he said, “Yes, I suppose, the Festival of Masks could illustrate the combination of activity, food and humour which brings the greatest delight to the Canela” (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). For those in the field, these important efforts, which touch on the ‘archival impulse’ of Crocker’s research, illuminate

various points of his work, his irrepressible desire to return to the original, a nostalgia for the recording of the place of absolute commencement.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

The objective throughout this doctoral study was firstly, to analyse Crocker's visual project and to examine his use of photography to draw his impressive visual record out from relative obscurity, and secondly, to focus my analysis on a particular recording enterprise, the Festival of Masks. The material discussed in this thesis can arguably be considered one of the most detailed and accurate sets of visual documents about Lowland South-American community life. Prior to this research, Crocker's photographic enterprise and its collection were relatively unknown to the anthropological audience, largely unexamined and academically undervalued.

Only a small fraction of the large sources of visual data about the Canela's life has ever been published. The published photographs are mainly restricted to Crocker's written documents. Even adding in the few additional images published here and there, the overall number of published photos comes to no more than 1,500 (from a total collection of approximately 35,000). Additionally, the footage about the group's ceremonial life has remained largely unrecognised, with the exception of Crocker and Schecter (1999).

Crocker's visual documentation and its impact on the discipline of social anthropology were largely unrealised due to the relative lack of publication. Yet the study of this unique collection throughout my PhD can be seen as an important reference for researchers working with the Canela, for students of the history of visual anthropology, and for the Canela themselves. My work adds value to Crocker's photographic ethnography and pushes it one step closer to other more celebrated examples of visual anthropology research (Jacknis 1988; Henley 2013).

Secondly, the systematic study of Crocker's records contributes to filling gaps in knowledge about Masking practices that, so far were not well captured by literature on Amerindian masking ceremonialism. By examining more fully the materiality and use of these Masks, this research illuminates those ritual contexts specific to Canela masking, demonstrating how the Canela visual art system (its Mask tradition) shows an important Amerindian sociological perspective, while providing scope for other researchers engaged in the wider context of Masking among Amerindian people. These days, numerous ethnographic studies have underlined the significance of 'objects' (e.g., masks) in indigenous strategies to materialise and mediate their social relations, desires, and values, whether through the object's innate subjectivities, agency, or material qualities (e.g., Gell 1998, Geismar 2006, Santos-Granero 2009, Lagrou 2009, Walker 2013, Bell 2015). Crocker has described the Festival as mainly a minor ceremony (W. Crocker, interview, 2017), but I believe that this work demonstrates how its celebration was of paramount importance, expressing core Canela definitions of the self with their society, culture and history. Through visual analysis of the imagery, I argued that the Festival presents an important way by which the Canela conceptualise the nature of being a human: the central importance of sharing in the formation of Canela personhood. One might see this as a community wide system emphasising the Canela's 'moral economy of intimacy' (Overing and Passes 2000). The Festival of Masks can be seen as a model for how to live.

In this way, William Crocker's fieldwork and its resulting collection were re-evaluated within anthropology and wider disciplinary histories. The new understanding revealed by my research, contributes to current perspectives on the development of anthropology and the moral economy of intimacy, and especially material culture studies of Brazilian Indians.

9.1 Summary of the Festival of Mask's practices

This thesis took as its starting point William Crocker's archival photographs and film footage about the Festival of Masks of the Canela people of North-West Brazil, and aimed to show how the Festival had an important social function. The stop-motion animated film of the Festival shot in 1970, not only explored a fascinating story about the Canela's own origin, a story about their meeting with the non-Indians, it also explored themes of generosity, compassion and, I would say, love. What does it mean to be a good Canela? How did a sense of self emerge through social engagement with others in the context of the Festival of Masks? The study shows that the documentation about the Festival offers a fine-grained account of the visual processes by which a sense of self emerged via the Canela's engagement with others in their complex ceremonial life. In doing so, the ceremony offered a window into the actual techniques, good practice and objects that contributed to the production and formation of the Canela subject. A common element of the Festival performances was to embed types of good behaviour seen across performances of different social events while expressing performatively what Rachel Corr has called elsewhere: "the holistic nature of a good community social life" (Corr 2010:100).

Yet, we are transported to a narrative of visual events descriptive of part of the Canela collective, or its institutional past. In particular, the high quality of the images, beautifully framed, encourages serious engagement. The degree of reality in the photos was achieved by Crocker's systematic methodology of visual media use among the community, evident since the very beginning of his career, and also by his intimate engagement with the community. This aesthetic sensibility was displayed in the films about the Festival. The ceremony was shot at both short distance and right in the midst of the action. Crocker moved around with the dancers and adjusted his angle of view to match the eye-line of the performers, thus we learnt that the intrinsic nature of the film, was based around unfolding the Masks' bodily expressions and movements. The syntax of this footage's construction, shot right in the middle of the action, shows us how the Canela represented effectively and performatively the ways that a good Canela should behave, that is with compassion and kindness. We learnt, for example, how a knowledgeably compassionate state of mind was expressed by a specific posture of the Mask: head bowed to the ground, backing away.

This work argued that the generous attitude of giving food during the Festival represents the key value of the Canela social life. The thesis demonstrated how a specific set of movements along specific pathways, and attitudes, such as begging, compassion and shame, are dramatised by the ceremonial Masks, which are ultimately beneficial to the 'achievement' of Canela community cohesion and well-being. In performing rounds to every single Canela house during

the Festival, the Masks traced out the link between each member of the group to their territory. The Masks performance is also a time for ludic activity and satirical events introduced by a Mask called little *Bad Mask*. While most of the Masks spend much of the time begging for food from the villagers, little *Bad Mask* is doing everything in the wrong way, such as, he is seen running and trying to steal things from villagers. For the Canela, humour and games do not undermine the seriousness of the Festival, but are ritually sanctioned play which contributes to the overall success of the ceremony. Crocker says how “little *Bad Mask* epitomises Canela values by acting out what is held to be wrong, “the smashing of social bonds by winning outrageously and gloating at the demise of other Canela social groups” (Crocker 2004:81). In this way, this Mask exerts a significant restraint upon the villagers not to commit a wrong act against another person (stealing). It can be said that through these over-exaggerated corporeal expressions (compassion, shame, begging), and through movements and humour, the Canela express their reflections and clarity about their social world via the Festival of Masks. The Masks’ performances bring the community together, becoming the true Canela self, the self they would like to be.

The affective and emotional resonance, made possible by study of Crocker’s archive, demonstrates the important role of records in accessing information these days and in supporting individual and collective indigenous stories. The study uncovers ‘hidden’, overlooked and devalued contributions to the development of studies around Festival traditions. In addition, while this study brought the Canela historical practice of mask-celebration days to life, the images could at one extreme be considered scientific, that is, a visual inventory of Canela objects, people and artifacts. The images invoke deep reflection on key Canela values and modes of conduct, including their relationship within the group and their identity as Canela, and they can have a great deal of significance regarding identity and performance even today. From the older archive of images about the Festival we learnt how historically, the effects of state and regional processes of power and authority (the presence of the non-Indians) were manifested locally and specifically. The effects were reproduced in the actions of Canela individuals living their particular lives, inscribed in their bodies, in their words and in their ceremonialism, in a form of what Lila Abu-Lughod (1991) called, “ethnographies of the particular, which have the benefit of showing how cultural institutions were lived out by real individuals” (Abu-Lughod 1991:150 quoted in Corr 2010: 142). Thus, the images could be considered to be an important aspect of the Canela collective past, and portraits which evoked the era in which Canela identity was inscribed in their facial expressions, their gestures and the ‘interactional mannerisms of the people photographed’ (Harper 2002:19). Crocker was not a historian attempting to reform the memory of the community through archival evidence, although his archival documentation should pique the interest of anyone in the field. These are stories and theories of Canela ideas about how to live well, and are some of the most interesting pieces of Canela historical documentation. One of Crocker’s newest research assistants wrote in his diary in April 2002:

I am Carampei. I wonder if we Canela will maintain our identity (Carampei quoted in Crocker 2004: 132). “I make some traditional artifacts to sell them in the nearest city,

Barra Corda, while I study my 7th grade at age 27. But these artifacts that we make for sale produce little profit, not enough to support a family in 2002. It is not the way it used to be years ago, when it was easy to trade our artifacts for clothes...now in 2002, we wonder: is one an Indian or is one not an Indian”¹¹⁷ (Carampei quoted in Crocker 2004: 132).

Carampei’s message is part of the project developed by Crocker since the 1960s, namely his use of Canela research assistants to write and later relay their current life stories, in the form of diaries (likewise Relaxed One’s) (Crocker 2007).

My mind wandered back to the narrative of the Canela’s origin story and the meeting with non-Indians, based on the mythical figure hero Awkhêê, and its connection to the Festival of Masks celebration, back in 1970. The story revealed how, in effect the Canela have been historically and consciously wrestling with the problem of how to live without losing their cultural identity after their encounters with the non-Indians. But this conceptual dilemma was, in the story, resolved by the exhortation to reject the ‘shining shotgun of the non-Indians, in favor of the traditional Canela bow and arrow (details in Chapter Seven, pg.158). What we learnt from Awkhêê’s story is that the Canela’s leadership and organising principles, narrowly depicted in their own origin story, were based on the capacity to inspire and mobilise people for voluntary collective action of various sorts, and to generate the valued form of togetherness, which were then performatively played out by the Masks during the Festival. The act of directly begging and demanding for something, and waiting to receive what was being asked for as played out by the Masks, were forms of acknowledging and asserting closeness. It was in the ‘ceremonial’ re-distribution of their surplus food that the community felt a manifestation of a generous sociality, and an enhancement of personality (as also expressed in the words of Relaxed One).

Crocker’s Canela visual archive allows a rich view of important past indigenous (Canela) instances of sharing. This manifests at a very young age in the Canela community, frequently emphasised in Crocker’s photographs, which showed the oldest kids experimenting with the adult responsibility of making sure their little brothers and sisters were fed (topic discussed in more detail in Chapter Three). Similarly, an implication of this view, was expressed by a related ritual exercise in the Festival, when all the Masks arrived at the entrance of the village on the day of their great procession, and they were designated by the women to be their ‘children’. The maskers’ children during the ceremony were in the process of legitimising the use of sharing values within the community, by their immediately compassionate corporeal attitudes of giving, acted out in the Festival. And on the other side, the redistribution of food during the ceremony reaffirms the Canela moral economy of intimacy.

¹¹⁷ Crocker posits other examples that helped illustrate the difficulties the Canela faced in that they either sell the surplus of their traditional economy, or adopt new economic tactics to produce non-traditional products in order to become self-sufficient (Crocker 2004).

In sum, the intimate relationships and food distribution performed during the Festival, coexist alongside, what Walker has called, “a discourse and public practice of the reproduction of social relations, the reproduction of skills, that are not only grounded in individual’s bodies; but are also the reproduction of subjection” (Walker 2013:121). Learning to share, the cornerstone of morality for the Canela (Crocker 1990), lies at the heart of strategies for soliciting and receiving, all choreographed and viewed in the Festival of Masks. The study demonstrates the continued importance of careful ethnographic attention being paid to historically emergent forms of subjectivity, especially over time.

This brings us back to Carampei’s fear of losing his identity. Carampei’s story can be linked to that of many other Canela, as in the case of Relaxed One, who wrote to Crocker in May 2002 (detailed in Chapter Eight). The ambiguity of Carampei’s and Relaxed One’s stories reflected the ambiguity of their position among the Brazilians; the difficulties they face in adapting to modern economy and governance, which were all condensed in their awareness. But as Crocker says, in either case, Carampei and Relaxed One, could return to their people, to the Canela village, a refuge that the Canela seemed determined to preserve, and he specifies how “as long as the Canela keep their circular village, they will not have lost the essence of their way of life.” (Crocker 2004:134).

Despite that, I would like to convey that the rich archive of Crocker’s images should reassure Carampei, as they can evoke important information, feelings and memories for future generations to come. In Crocker’s photos, for example, Carampei was depicted as a little boy joking with his brother and chopping a banana tree with a machete and holding back a blow to avoid hurting his sister. He appears later, in 1997, as a young father taking care of his own children. Now aged 27, he is studying to become a professional in agriculture, to work in his community and provide a better future for his children (Crocker 2004:132). Carampei’s photos show how the Canela were able to move in the mainstream Brazilian world and have learned many of its ways.

Today Crocker’s archival documentation enterprise can have even more historical weight and value. Brazil is currently undergoing a period of intense political turbulence, largely at the expense of Indian’ rights and their visibility. All over the world, ‘settler populations’ and non-indigenous people are engaged in negotiations regarding legitimacy, power and rights. Lutz (2007) posits, these are all struggles over what is an accurate recounting of what happened, about history, about what we believe. The author says “the stakes here are huge. The legitimacy of the settler nations and indigenous claims to be rightful owners or caretakers of the land and resources are based on the contact origin stories. First contact stories that are still based on non-Indians accounts” (Lutz 2007:2). Thus, Crocker’s images can be used as an important link between the Canela’s ordinary experience of their lives through the collective’s oral historical traditions and festivals, they connect the personal past moments of a Canela individual, like Carampei, invoking a complex system of different relationships, which in turn defines the continued existence of important moral principles in the Canela community. These images can become, ‘a kind of memory bookend’ (Harper 2002:19) which represent the subjectivity,

embodied in their framing. What is potentially most important to a new generation of Canela “is the currency these images and their correlates narrative can evoke for the community today” (Lutz 2007:5).

9.2 Afterword

This study of Crocker’s collection only scratches the surface of this rich material (photographs, videos, and personal written documentation) held at the Smithsonian Institution. This research is only the beginning of a much larger research agenda that will, it is hoped, evolve between the Human Studies Film Archives (HSFA), the Department of Anthropology at the Natural History Museum, and the Canela community members.¹¹⁸

I am already in the process of presenting an exhibition about Dr. Crocker’s photographic enterprise to be held at the Library in St. Martin’s Lane, in London.¹¹⁹ But there is the hope that this primary visual data, including Canela personal documents in the form of diaries, will be made available to members of interested source communities in a project funded through the Smithsonian’s Recovering Voices’ Initiative which is part of the Collection-Based Research Fund. Recently, the HSFA Center at the Smithsonian has marshalled many research projects in which archival photographs and films from their vast collection have been returned to, and activated within, local communities. These projects have highlighted how many of the audio-visual records held within their collections have become increasingly important to indigenous communities addressing concerns of language endangerment and loss of indigenous knowledge. At present, the HSFA is engaged in three projects along these lines.¹²⁰

In addition, the National Anthropological Archive as a part of the ‘Smithsonian’s Recovering Voices’ Initiative, is working to sustain and celebrate linguistic and cultural diversity and revitalisation. It does so by connecting its vast collection, which document indigenous language

¹¹⁸ The archive is the property of the Smithsonian, but copies are being made and are available under certain circumstances. The relevant Canela individuals must be satisfied with the use of their documentation.

¹¹⁹ The opening date will be the 8th of March 2018. The exhibition is an invitation to reassess Crocker’s use of photography and film among the Canela. It also introduces key points about the methodological approach I used in order to study his collection. Crocker’s collection brings alive not only incredible performative stories about the Canela ceremonial life, but also the interior space of family interactions, the physical space of the Canela intimate life became increasingly important. These images represent an important way to capture the emotional side of the community attitude of doing things together, allowing us to understand these practices at the level of the individual experiences. ‘The ordinary morality of life’. And that is his contribution to the development of social anthropology. The dominant tendency in academic anthropological research in the 1950s was to interpret any form of study of the everyday as banal or insignificant. Overing and Passes (2000) recently posit how, for many anthropologists, shamanism, cannibal gods and war ceremonies were much more exciting practices to be studied than the native every-day life.

¹²⁰ A similar project was conceived of for footage shot by Robert Zingg on the Huichol Indians of northwest Mexico.

and culture, with the community through research visits and programmes like the ‘National Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages’, and by securing funding for the digitalization of archival materials for broad online access. Similarly, I believe that Crocker’s archival material can be seen as a highly important source of knowledge for many Canela today.

My knowledge of the Canela people and their Festival of Masks was based on secondary sources (archival material) rather than of ethnography and primary data sources, although my next step will be to encourage contemporary Canela to reconnect with this material, in particular with the Festival of Masks documentation. The aim of the forthcoming project is to make available to the group, the vital connections between Crocker’s field notes, photographs, films, censuses, along with the anthropologist’s own commentary, in particular in relation to their Festival of Masks, that have already been made since my project began in 2015.¹²¹ Today, this visual archival collection may be seen as a potent and beneficial meeting point for contemporary anthropological images and ideas, and for the Canela themselves. It is a key collection about a period of time when there was a huge amount of change within the community. This project would allow the Canela to reconnect with this history.¹²²

Many Canela became teachers in their own school in the reserve. Education, as in other groups, became a very important achievement and drive (Iuvaro 2012).¹²³ In a recent article by Crocker

¹²¹ The project with the Recovering Voices’ Initiative at the Smithsonian Institution would also involve working with community researchers (including myself) in order to create a digital, 3D model of the Masks. Yet because of the fragility, physical complexity (organic material) and sized of the two Masks housed today in the facility in Maryland, they cannot be fully displayed. The aim is to use the technology developed in these last years to make this material more accessible.

¹²² When I was in the process of analysing Crocker’s images of the Festival of Masks, I discovered an impressive archive of visual data about the Canela, original negatives, films and personal written documents about the Canela’s life over fifty-four years.

¹²³ By 2002 there was a rise of education among many indigenous groups in Brazil. By 2009, about 40 Canela students were going to schools in the nearest city, Barra do Corda, attending classes from the fifth through to the tenth grade (Crocker 2004). I have had personal reasearch experience of community-education projects in the indigenous communities of Mato Grosso do Sul, in Brazil. I worked as part of a team of anthropologists, at the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul, in Campo Grande, where I currently remain a member of the Directory of research group/CNPq called, Anthropology, Human Rights and Traditional People. As a member of the above, I actively assisted and participated in the programme called ‘Rede de Saberes’, funded by the Ford Foundation, and carried out by four universities in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul: Dom Bosco Catholic University (UCDB), the State University of Mato Grosso do Sul (UEMS), the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul (UFMS) and the Federal University of Grande Dourados (UFGD), which aimed to support, in particular, the permanence in higher education of indigenous students of the region of Mato Grosso do Sul. The project’s aim was also to create didactic material regarding a more comprehensive understanding of indigneous population groups in Brazil, in collaboration with indigneous teachers and Professors from the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul, headed by Antonio Hilario Aguilera Urquiza, for both schools in the cities and in the communities.

from 2007, his diarists said how positively they evaluated the work of the anthropologist in collecting the narrative of their lives via the diary programme.¹²⁴

It is just through education that we have the capability of freeing our future from our present for my village. I have thought that I would like very much to be intelligent with a long memory of what our ancestors did which comes to one through knowledge of our own history. I want to struggle on the side of my marvellous people. As I would like that our children can change the stereotypical images and ideas that many Brazilians still have about us (Edible Vine Canela (Kupaa-khwèy) 2002 quoted in Crocker 2004:39).

I immediately thought that Crocker's 'historical photographs' housed in the Smithsonian's archive today, could be used as suggested elsewhere, "as agents, rather than representations of history; active participants in the making and re-making of the past in the present for the future" (Geismar 2006:558). This thesis has already demonstrated that the collection about the Festival of Masks deserves to have a valuable, historical re-assessment and directs our attention to an important existential human predicament: namely, the importance of our memories. While many traditional practices of the indigenous people show signs of diminishing in the near future, the Brazilian state is an increasingly important player when it comes to elaborating personal and group identities and allegiances. Such a scenario, so common to indigenous people worldwide, highlights the need for a wide-ranging approach, similar to the one Crocker had with the Canela for over 50 years of fieldwork, that permitted him to explicitly bridge what Walker has called "the physical, social, and political dimensions of subject formation, ranging from the most intimate spheres of human existence to the more collective experiences" (Walker 2013:215). Crocker's records, I believe, could become an interactive aid to fieldwork used reflexively to explore a number of substantive and theoretical concerns. They are perhaps, characterised by a very specific organisation and technical method which make them practical and easy to examine systematically.

Research is needed with contemporary Canela practitioners, examining footage to explore concepts of performance, innovation, variation, and change in their tradition over the past

¹²⁴ In addition to the visual documentation (films and photographs), since the 1960s, the Canela have been writing and taping diaries of their lives in their own language and in Portuguese. The frequency of their writing to Crocker (in their diaries), especially those translated from Canela into Portuguese, had a beneficial effect in producing an impressive archive of data about the Canela, encompassing virtually all Canela social and ceremonial life. "Between 1966 and 1979, and between 1993 and 2006, about 1,500 school booklets (usually 5.5 by 8 inches) of handwritten diaries were collected once a month on average. They are stored mostly in the National Anthropological Archives of the Department of Anthropology of the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. The number of pages written per month was 45, 60, 90, or 120, depending on the year and whether the work was in Canela (probably 120 pages), Portuguese (probably 90), or Canela and its Portuguese translation (usually 45 or 60 pages)" (Crocker 2007:54).

decade. There is interest from Canela people, including some who are, or are related to, people in the archival materials. In a letter to Crocker, a young Canela who recently graduated writes:

Since we, the younger men, do not know how our festivals were originally performed, we are losing our traditions and our culture. So, where are we going to find our original festivals? We are going to find them in the manuscripts written to Senhor Croque (which will help us) teach them to the adolescents (Crocker 2007:14).

The importance of this material can be linked to what Oziel (a nephew of two of Crocker's important research assistants, Maria Cashiado and Caso Pedro Cashiado), wrote to me recently.¹²⁵ He sadly reported to me how the older members of his community were dying, including Abilio Tami, an important ceremonial expert and very knowledgeable about the community (Conversation on Skype between Iuvaro and Oziel, July 2017). He appeared in much of the footage shot by Schecter in 1975 and 1979 and in Crocker's photographs, which I analysed at the Smithsonian. Oziel proudly expressed his contentment, saying that he was fortunate enough to know him, and he also posits how today, Tephoto (Franceschino) is one of the few elders, still alive, keeping all the secrets of the Canela tradition. I was struck by the ways in which we talked about the past of his community, a past heavily mediated by Crocker's presence among the group, in particular by the use of the anthropologist's recording techniques during the diary programme and through the photographs and videos. He also confessed to me how few a years ago, in conversation with Fisher (who had worked with the Canela in collaboration with Crocker for several years) he expressed his desire to know more about the Festival of Masks since he remembered it from when he was a little boy.

I heard a lot of stories about Crocker's work with our people from my grandmother and grandfather, Maria Cashiada and Pedro Cashiado and from my uncle Jetulio Cropé. The youngest generation, as my younger son, do not know this Festival (of Masks). As a student, during an exam, I went back to the few photographs, I have got on my computer that Crocker left to my family. And suddenly, I stood for a long time in front of Abilio's photo, and a great sadness overcame me. I realised that what I was doing was very much like visiting a loved one's grave, as if the photo held the spirit of all older people who came before him. So, on returning home, I decided that I had the responsibility of knowing more about the origins of our Festival, such as the Festival of Masks, that since when I was a child captured my attention and night dreams.

Images could form a starting point from which the Canela could see themselves in images from earlier decades of their life which they had not specifically imagined for a decade. In particular,

¹²⁵ I have recently been in contact with Oziel (nephew of two Crocker's important research assistants, Maria Cashiado and Caso Pedro Cashiado).

I believe that these images might evoke deep reflection on particular key Canela values and modes of conduct, including their relationship within the group and their identity as Canela.

There are important implications, however. When I sent a few of the photographs I have in my thesis to Oziel, such as Figure 4.7, he soon replied to me saying: “Do you know who the man is in the picture?” He later replied: “He is Paulo Adriano”. At the time, I already had this information, but the enthusiasm of Oziel and his obvious interest in recognising one of his older friends, was a very important thing for him. These images have already started to become a treasure trove of the Canela past, but through the subjective lens of Dr. Crocker, and it is believed through the Canela’s contemporary voices, the silence of the archive material can be transformed into an instance of ‘memory making’, mining deeper into the different parts of the group’s consciousness than words alone can. It is, as suggested by Harper (2002), partly due to the particular quality of the photographs themselves. More specifically the photographs appear to capture what Harper has called, “the impossible: a person gone; an event past. That extraordinary sense of seeming to retrieve something that has disappeared belongs alone to the photographs, and it can lead to deep and interesting talk” (Harper 2002:23). This was an intuition which, as highlighted at the beginning of this thesis, Crocker already had in mind in the 1950s.

Glossary of Terms

A-nã wè: is the expression used to describe repeated jerking of the Mask's face slits, up and out impatiently, which is identified with the begging practices, an important traditional function of the Masks during the Festival.

A-nd wi: In Canela language it means 'something - for ask' and it is translated to begging. Crocker (1990; 2004) states that the very definition of a good person is one who gives many things to the Canela when they ask for them. The institution of "begging" is supported by a number of festival acts, found particularly in the Festival of Masks.

Awkhêê: Is a Canela cultural hero. According to Crocker's written reports, Awkhêê would be identified by the Canela with the figure of the 'benevolent emperor of Brazil', Dom Pedro II, who ascended to the throne in 1840 (Crocker 2004:18).

Buriti Palm: They are palm trees typical of the tropical and sub-tropical plants that come in a wide range of shapes and sizes. The foliage of a palm tree is called a frond.

Canela: The name Canela in modern Brazilian orthography is used for three separate groups: the Kenkateye, Apaneykra and Ramkokamekra (or today Canela). I use Canela throughout the thesis, as Crocker refers to them. Crocker writes how the Kenkateye, who split off from the Apaneykra in the middle of the 19th century, were massacred and dispersed by local cattle ranchers in 1913. The Apaneykra have long been separate from the Canela (or Ramkokamekra), having been traditional enemies. The Canela are also part of a wider linguistic and cultural tradition that includes a number of indigenous people classified by linguists as a part of the Macro-Gê language stock. Gê people share many cultural similarities. They are horticulturalists and hunters whose lifestyle often combines both sedentary villages and seasonal mobility. An important similarity among the Gê is the circular village forms.

Cacique: This is a portuguese term which means leader or chief (English word) of the indigenous community. He is responsible for planning the events of the day with the help of the Council of Elders and the age-group leaders at the morning meeting. Crocker says that much of the communication in these meetings constitutes an important emotional bonding for the group, and this is especially true when this discourse takes place in the centre of the plaza. In Canela, residents form a circle around a central plaza (or occasionally along a street) that is a site for dancing, singing, ceremony and the council meeting (Crocker 1990).

Cerrado: The closed savannahas, known as cerrado, are a principal vegetational type of Brazilian landscape. This is grassy with short trees between 5 to 30 feet high.

Council of Elders: The Council of Elders comprises one age-group, the dominant one that governs the Festival, called the *Pro-khamma* and balances the power of the chief or cacique (Crocker 2004:130).

Delegado: The portuguese term to identify the Indian service officials (FUNAI), who worked in Barra do Corda.

Dias grandes: A Portuguese term that indicates how all the five important Canela Festivals (the Khee-tuwaye, Pepye, Pepkahak, Fish and the Festival of Masks) are characterised by between one to four ‘great days’ called in Canela ‘*amkro-kati*’ (Crocker 1990). These days usually required considerable preparation and expense on the part of the principals, and special performances by the designated male festive groups.

Festa das mascaras: The name in portuguese of the Festival of Masks, as the Canela had reported it to Crocker.

FUNAI: Fundação Nacional do Índio, National Indian Foundation, was created by Law No. 5,371, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice. It is a Brazilian governmental protection agency for Indian interests and their culture. On December 19, 1973, Law No. 6001 officially placed Indians under the protection of FUNAI through the Indian Statute.

Hapê: In Canela language this term means *pena*. One of the most important Canela values is the ability to feel and care for (*hapê*) other people (Crocker 1990:185).

Hàwmrô: This term is used to indicate the smallest kin group among the Canela or unit that is called (*hàwmrô*), which is based on between two and seven closely related females, ideally a mother and two or three daughters and their husbands, children and unmarried brothers (Crocker 2004: 56). This group shares food together. Crocker also describes this unit, in which females are related through all female genealogical linkages as a ‘longhouse’ (*ikhre-rùù*, house-long) (Crocker 2004:56).

Hd-kayren: A Canela term meaning being generous (Crocker 1990). According to the anthropologist, when Canela individuals were asked what qualities a good Canela should have, their first response usually was: “a person must be generous (*hd-kayren*). The worst characteristic was described as stinginess (*hddtsi*) (Crocker 1990:184).

Imbira: Brazilian palm tree fronds, a resource material exceptionally strong so used for things like bowstrings. The saplings grow very straight and the bark can be used for lashing or made into very high quality cordage.

Kàà kookhyê: This is a Canela term used in the context of the Festival of Masks. Literally it means ‘splitting or crossing the plaza’ (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). It refers to the movement of the Masks which went in single file from their shed into the village, crossing different radial pathways, counter-clockwise several times during the Middle part of the ceremony. They kept doing this, but used a different radial pathway each time until all the villagers’s pathways (and the fronts of each family’s house) had been traversed.

Kapri: It is a Canela term that means ‘expressing compassion’, the most important value among Canela (Crocker 2004:85).

Khen-pey: This is the lead Masker's name.

Ko-khri-t: This is also the name given to the Masks by the Canela. The suffix *Khri-t* can be designated in Canela language as an animal, 'even spirit' but according to Crocker is more likely to be translated in Canela terms as 'the companion of the water' (Crocker 1990).

Ku'hù 'pil to mō act: A term in Canela that means the "fire extinguish do go-along" Act (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). During the middle part of the Mask's circumambulation, their main duties were to come along specific pathways and pretend to put out the fires of the household by moving in line slowly around the pathways several times, while swishing their skirts over and across each bonfire (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). However, despite their efforts, the house owners kept replenishing their bonfires so that the Masks could not succeed in their endeavour.

Manioc Flour, called Farinha: The bitter manioc (vegetable staple) can only be eaten after being processed into 'grape-nut-like pellets' (Fisher 2000) known as *farinha* or manioc flour. Bitter manioc is distinguished from its sweet counterpart by the presence of elevated prussic acid levels, which must be removed during the *farinha* making process.

Meat pies: During ceremonial times the women prepare a meat pie (*farinha* and meat). They place meat cubes in a layer of a manioc mush. After they fold the wild banana leaves over the mush and meat, they tie them with cords of buriti and bake the pies by placing them on hot rocks and covering them with earth.

Mẽ hô akjêj xà: In Canela language is the expression who describes the Mask's act of trying to enter the door of the villager's houses sequentially, while 'dancing' (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). They do this by running through a low and narrow doorway, one after another, ducking the front pole to enter and lowering the back one when inside, demonstrating great skill.

Non-Indians. The Indians refers to non-Indians population with the term "white" = *brancos*. However, this *brancos* can be also dark African Brazilians. Thus, for simplicity I will use the term non-Indians. The term is used to refers first to the colonial officials or settlers, then they used it to refer to the pastoral front, families and Brazilians communities settled after the independence of Brazil in the mid 19th Century.

Olho de buriti: The fresh internal stalks of the buriti palm tree, the early sprouts, that reach the ground to form a skirt.

The little Bad Mask: This Mask tries to steal food from the villagers during the Festival, with great amusement from the participants.

The Pen Tsù Act (*pen* = honey; *tsù* = a kind of bee): In Canela this signifies the act of the Masks during the Festival to march from their shed in a block formation anti-clockwise around the village circle (a broad street connecting the shed and the village), before returning to their shed (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). They repeated these sequences several times, with many

of the inhabitants accompanying them. The performance required that the Masks traversed pathways together all night and repeatedly returned to their starting point, their shed. The main duties were to make sure that each Mask's spatial movements connected the shed (home of the Masks) and each Canela household to the centre of the village. They kept doing this, but used a different radial pathway each time until all the pathways of the village (and the front of each family's house) had been traversed. (W. Crocker, interview, 2016). They had to visit every single Canela household, while the women ran behind them, carrying water and food on their backs.

Timbira: The Canela speak Eastern Timbira, an eastern language of Northern Gê of the great Gê-Pano-Carib Family. Canela is almost identical to the Apanyekra and Krahó languages. Krahó is spoken 350 kilometers southwest. Other Eastern Timbira tribes are the Krĩkatĩ, Pukobyte and Tocantins Gavião (Gaviões); the Apinayé speak Western Timbira.

Tom pei: In Canela terms it means 'make it good' or 'keep the other happy' (Crocker 2004).

To-kaywew-re and Espora: Name of two Masks that during the Festival of Masks danced and moved around lively and faster, begging for food from the villagers while performing bodily gestures that signalled emotions, namely compassion and shame.

Sertanejo: Represents the expansion of cattle raising in Amazonia. In particular, these Brazilian settlements of the Canela region came mostly from the state of Bahia in the southeast, but also from Sao Luis in the north, the capital of the state of Maranhão. This population pressure pushed the Timbira tribes, such as the Fox, the Canela, and the Pukobyte, into the northern parts of their ancestral territories.

Shame: is translated in Canela to *pahàm* (Crocker 1990). One of the most important postures indicated by the Mask during the Festival is shame. If the Masks are ashamed by refusal to grant them food, the masker lowered the head of the Mask.

SPI: Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (Indian Protection Service), the former name of the Brazilian governmental protection agency for Indian interests. In 1910, the Indian Protection Service (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio), or the SPI, was founded under the leadership of Brazilian Marshal Candido Rondon. The SPI began its mission to "pacify" Indian communities by setting up posts in their territories to foster communication and protection. Little (2004) posits how during the 1950s and 1960s, the officials were accused of sexual perversion, abuse and the massacre of entire tribes by introducing diseases and pesticides, leading to its disbandment. Following this disbandment, FUNAI was created to take over SPI's responsibilities and remedy the damage caused by corruption.

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Collections Consulted

PART 1:

Collection title: William H. Crocker Film Collection

Location: Human Studies Film Archives (Facility of the Smithsonian Institution in Suitland, Maryland)

Accession No: 2001-004

Date of Access: November 2015, March 2017

Content note:

The collection consists of the original research motion picture films made by Dr. William H. Crocker, Curator of South American Ethnology, Department of Anthropology, at the National Museum of Natural History. The visual records were created over the course of several research field trips spent among the Canela of Brazil, in the State of Maranhão, Northern Brazil.

According to the information on the tape boxes and reels, these recordings were made by Dr. Crocker during his 1957-58 and 1979 visits to the Canela. The visual material produced between his first visit in 1957 and between 1964, contains scenes of the Festival of Masks (in 1960 and in 1964) but also included other subjects that are: the Pebye Festival 1957-60, the Pep-gahak Festival from 1958, and the Canela ear-piercing and Khetuaye Festival.

Organisation and arrangement:

The collection is arranged according to the filmmaker's subject designations and follows his sequential order where indicated. Otherwise, the projects have been arranged according to an approximate chronological order and assigned the following HSFA numbers and titles:

- 2001.4.1 CANELA PEBYE FESTIVAL SEASON 1957 (16 mm colour 750)
- 2001.4.2 CANELA PEP-GAHAK FESTIVAL SEASON 1958 (16 mm colour 401)
- 2001.4.3 CANELA WE –TE- FESTIVAL SEASON 1960 (16 mm colour 365)
- 2001.4.4 CANELA EAR-PIERCING AND KHETUAYE FESTIVAL RITES 1959- 60 (16 mm colour 510)
- 2001.4.5 [William H. Crocker Film Footage of the Canela of Brazil, 1964] (16 mm 913)

Scenes of the Festival of Masks were documented in the Canela WE–TE- FESTIVAL SEASON 1960 (2001.4.3) and in the [William H. Crocker Film Footage. of the Canela of

Brazil, 1964]. In these 16 mm motion picture films, the scenes depicting the Masks does not follow a sequential order, but are mixed with scenes of other Festivals.

Notable subjects included the Festival of the Masks in 1970 (in collaboration with Ray Brown).

2001.4.6 A Sequence from the Research Film CANELA FESTIVAL OF MASKS (with Ray Brown) in 1970

2001.4.7 [Canela Mask Preparation I, 1970] (with Ray Brown)

2001.4.8 [Canela Festival of Masks Film Project, 1970] (with Ray Brown)

Additional analysis for this study was made on the Super 8mm film projects from 1974-75 and 1978-79. These two projects coincide with Dr. Crocker's research collaboration on the National Anthropological Film Centre (NAFC) projects with the filmmaker Steven Schecter: 86.13.25 [Film Study of the Traditional Lifestyles of the Canela Indians of Brazil, 1975] and 86.13.32 [Film Study of the Traditional Lifestyles of the Canela Indians of Brazil, 1979]. According to the archivist Mark White, in 1995-1996, Dr. Crocker again collaborated with former NAFC filmmaker Steven Schecter on an edited film, "Mending Ways: The Canela Indians of Brazil" (Smithsonian Human Studies Film Centre, FA 99.1.7 and 2004-018) which makes use of both newly produced original video as well as earlier archival film and video (M. White, interview, 2017).

According to White the Human Studies Film Centre has a master digital video file of these transferred rolls in the SI-DAMS and can make this material available to researchers as an access digital video file.

2001.4.9 [William H. Crocker Film Footage of the Canela of Brazil, 1974-1975]

2001.4.10 [William H. Crocker Film Footage of the Canela of Brazil, 1978-1979]

Physical description and condition:

Motion picture film formats included are 16mm original colour with magnetic sound stripes, Super 8mm camera original colour reversal, Super 8mm colour reversal sound film with magnetic sound stripes.

A good part of the individual film rolls has been inspected during my visits between the 2015 and 2017 and all of the films are now in cold storage. There was every indication that the rolls found in the collection could be played back safely on film viewing equipment. In the case of the Super 8mm films, the viewing equipment is manually operated which provides a perfectly safe means of viewing image content (Mark White, interview, 2015). According to White, the rolls about the Festival of Masks were kept away for over 40 years.

Approximate footage and duration totals for film:

Festivals 16mm colour reversal, colour print & composite print = 15,675 ft. (24 rolls) (25 hours).

Life of the Groups Super 8mm original colour reversal & duplicates = 26,950 ft. (535 rolls) (103 hours).

During the screening session, it was noted how the visual materials from the collection appear to have been stored well over the years and show only minimal signs of wear and aging associated with careful handling (Mark White, 2017, personal communication). There are no obvious indications of acetate deterioration in the film materials.

Additional information about the films:

The original film boxes for the two Super 8mm film projects from 1974-1975 and 1978-1979 have extensive handwritten notes and (audio records (Schechter) from the footage) on the specific subjects documented. Some of these verbal notes from the 1975-1979 boxes had already been transcribed in my thesis. A copies of the transcription made during my study will be sent to the Film Archive Centre and will be inserted in the collection as a supplemental file. Mark White, the archivist informed me that while re-housing the 1974-1975 project, the original film boxes were scanned. "The electronic files (PDF) are stored in the technical file for the collection on the SI-Network shared drive for the National Anthropological Archive and a paper copy is in the supplemental file for the collection" (Mark White, interview, 2017).

The films from the 1975 project depicted more than 79 hours of the life of the group. The films from the 1979 depicted more than 24 hours of the life of the groups.

86.13.31. [FILM STUDIES OF TRADITIONAL INDIAN LIFE OF BRAZIL: CANELA, 1975]

86.13.32 [FILM STUDIES OF TRADITIONAL INDIAN LIFE OF BRAZIL: CANELA, 1979]

These are the selected scenes form the above film projects analysed during my study. Tapes are numbered (1 through 20) and original camera roll numbers are listed on the tape labels.

The scenes include the list of the activities, date and time. The subjects include: morning meal, cooking, making meat pies, consumption of meal, various children play scene; boy at fire, mother with babies, boy swimming; women together and babies, singing, making soups and feeding children, women and children at the sunset, girls collect wood and cattle distribution, distribution of meat, children play, morning fires, hunting scenes, carrying dead man into the village and mourning in house, funeral, removal of the body, farm plot, man eating with children, younger lady peeling manioc, girls grating manioc, peeling it, grand-father singing

with baby on their chest, young ladies watches cooking, make fire on their own, and carrying babies back from bathing, girls gather firewood, young girl leans on grand-mother, morning meal cooking and distribution, men singing and other children listening, bringing wood, peeling manioc together, cutting up the meat pies for distribution, picking up meat pies, cooking meat pies.

Tape	Assembled Roll Number	Length	Access No
± Tape 1	= CR@'s 1, 2, 3,5 ,6, 13, 14	(63 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 2	= CR@'s 14, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18	(60 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 3	= 21, 22, 23, 25, 26	(56 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 4	± Tape 4 = CR@'s 28, 29, 30, 32, 33	(56 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 5	= CR@'s 36, 37, 38, 40, 41	(44 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 6	= CR@'s 42, 43, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53, 54	(130 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 7	= CR@'s 55, 56, 67, 71,72	(62 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]

± Tape 8	= CR@'s 73, 74, 75, 76, 77 & CR@ 189	(68 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 9	= CR@'s 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 15	(56 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.31; Canela. 1975]
± Tape 10	= CR@'s 16, 18, 19A, 26, 27, 28	(59 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.31; Canela. 1975]
± Tape 11	= CR@'s 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34	(54 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.31; Canela. 1975]
± Tape 12	= CR@'s 38 through 81	(58 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.31; Canela. 1975]
± Tape 13	= CR@'s 85, 86, 87, 88	(61 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.31; Canela. 1975]
± Tape 14	= CR@'s 45, 102, 109, 110 111	(52 minute)	[fr. 86.13.31; Canela. 1975]

± Tape 15	= CR@'s 118, 124, 125, 164, 184	(57 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.31; Canela. 1975]
± Tape 16	= CR@'s 83, 84, 93, 94, 97	(58 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 17	= CR@'s 83, 84, 93, 94, 97	(50 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 18	= CR@'s 95, 96, 104, 108	(56 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]
± Tape 19	CR@'s 204, 205, 211, 174	(67 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canella. 1979]
± Tape 20	= CR@'s 99, 93, 106	(56 minutes)	[fr. 86.13.32; Canela. 1979]

PART 2

Collection Title: William H. Crocker Photographic Collection

Location: Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

Date Accessed: November 2015, March 2017

70 Masks = Photograph taken in 1970.

Accession no.:

Photograph	Size	Format	Year	Appendix page numbers refer to pages in that volume
70 Mask – 01. tif	29,691,716 bytes (29.7 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	75
70 Mask – 02. tif	29,559,640 bytes (29.6 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	76
70 Mask – 04. tif	29,759,400 bytes (29.8 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	78
70 Mask – 010. tif	30,791,580 bytes (30.8 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	80
70 Mask – 013. tif	3,889,664 bytes (33.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	82

C2 = Photographs taken in 1960. These series of photographs showing scenes of the Mask's procession in the Festival recorded by Crocker in 1960 and they showing the Canela women adorning the Masks in the Festival in 1960. There are also few images of the Canela village, in Ponto, in 1960.

Photograph	Size	Format	Year	Appendix page
C2 - 2B212. tif	190,694 bytes (193 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1960	13
C2 - B2 216. tif	187,046 bytes (188 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1960	14
C2 - B213. tif	90,790 bytes (193 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1960	98
C2 - B214. tif	195,612 bytes (197 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1960	99
C2 - B215.tif	188,390 bytes (188 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1960	103

C4 = Photographs taken in 1964. These photographs showing the making of the meat pies during the Festival of Masks in 1964, performative movements of the Masks, more general Canela domestic activities and sharing and distribution of food.

Photograph	Size	Format	Year	Appendix peg number
C4 – B028. JPG	164,887 bytes (168 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1964	33
C4 – B036. JPG	128,971 bytes (131 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1964	55
C4 – K – 14. tif	838,918 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	132
C4 – K – 16; tif	839,406 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	131

C4 – K 11. Tif	838,454 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	48
C4 – B135. JPG	53,320 bytes (57 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	56
C4 – O – 15. tif	851,068 bytes (852 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	112
C4 – O- 16. tif	850,852 bytes (852 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	113
C4 – O – 19. Tif	850,808 bytes (852 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	113
C4 – P- 03. Tif preparare il fuoco	836,010 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	114
C4 – P- 04. Tif	835,934 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	114
C4 – P – 05. Tif	836,810 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	115
C4 – P- 06. Tif	836,634 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	115
C4 – P- 07. Tif	836,374 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	116
C4 – P- 08. Tif	836,882 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	117
C4- P – 09. Tif	836,402 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	117
C4 – P – 10. Tif	835,674 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	118
C4 – P – 11. Tif	835,802 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	118
C4 – P – 12. Tif	836,178 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	119

C4 – P – 14. Tif	835,962 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	119
C4 – P – 15. Tif	835,754 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	120
C4 – P – 16. Tif	836,490 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	120
C4 – P – 17. Tif	836,038 bytes (840 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	121
C4 – Q – 04. Tif	846,552 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	121
C4 – Q – 05. Tif	847,396 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	122
C4 – Q – 06. Tif	847,084 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	122
C4 – Q – 07. Tif	847,084 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	123
C4 – Q – 08. Tif	846,016 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	123
C4 – Q – 09. Tif	849,142 bytes (852 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	124
C4 – Q – 10. Tif	845,908 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	124
C4 – Q – 11. Tif	845,904 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	125
C4 – Q – 12. Tif	846,036 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	125
C4 – Q – 13. Tif	845,028 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	126
C4 – Q – 14. Tif	844,740 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	126

C4 – Q – 15. Tif	846,460 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	127
C4 – Q – 16. Tif	846,460 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	127
C4 – Q – 17. Tif	846,604 bytes (848 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1964	128
C – 4B092. JPG	152,845 bytes (156 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1964	92
C – 4B138. JPG	53,077 Bytes (53 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1964	91

NG = Photograph taken in 1970. These photographs contain scenes depicting making the Canela preparation of meat pies, mothers feed breasting, women domestic activities, funeral scenes. Children experimenting adult's activities. Women and children having bath, making breakfast, sharing activities and meals consumption. They also depict the Masks moving around the villages and crossing the plaza, the women surrounding the Masks and the Masks images (entering the door's acts and the Masks expelling fire activities).

Photograph	Size	Format	Year	Appendix peg
N.G. 1970 – 009. tif	18,892,762 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	93
N.G. 1970 – 010. Tif	18,890,802 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	94
N.G. 1970 – 021. Tif	18,890,802 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	95
N.G. 1970 – 098. Tif	18,892,206 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	96

N.G. 1970 – C302. Tif	18,890,370 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	40
N.G. 1970 – 095 .Tif	18,892,206 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	101
N.G. 1970 – 096. Tif	18,891,870 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	5
N.G. 1970 – 218. Tif	18,892,802 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	6
N.G. 1970 - 098. Tif	18,891,654 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	7
N.G. 1970 - 205. Tif	18,888,154 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	8
N.G. 1970 – 206. Tif	18,887,366 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	104
N.G 1970 – 213. Tif	18,892,126 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	81
N.G. 1970 – 035. Tif	18,892,126 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	110
N.G. 1970 – 036. Tif	18,892,126 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	47
N.G. 1970 – 026. Tif	18,894,130 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	48
N.G. 1970 – C7 – 09. Tif	11,355,946 bytes (11.4 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	61

N.G. 1970 – 047. Tif	18,903,756 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	83
N.G. 1970 – 049. Tif	18,905,596 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	107
N.G. 1970 – 085. Tif	18,905,596 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	42
N.G. 1970 – 091. Tif	18,905,596 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	34
N.G. 1970 – 097. Tif	18,900,672 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	108
N.G. 1970 – 094	18,893,366 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	54
N.G. 1970 – 154. Tif	18,893,451 bytes (18.9 mb on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	109
N.G. 1970 – 265. Tif	18,893,142 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	45
N.G. 1970 – 024	18,904,440 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	46
N.G. 1970 – 076. Tif	18,892,506 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	43

N.G. 1970 – 089. Tif	18,891,330 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	44
N.G. 1970 – 201. Tif	18,890,190 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	63
N.G. 1970 – 092. Tif	18,890,190 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	52
N.G. 1970 – 181. Tif	8,890,966 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	29
1970 -3-2. JPG	97,161 bytes (98 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	17
1970 – 5- 3. JPG	197,072 bytes (201 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	18
1970 – 6- 2. JPG	127,171 bytes (131 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	16
1970 – 11. JPG	127,171 bytes (131 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	19
1970 – 7.2. JPG	377,905 bytes (381 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	20
1970 - 8.2. JPG	95,358 bytes (98 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	21
1970. gb316. JPG	125,594 bytes (127 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	9
NG 1970 – 184. tif	18,891,590 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	32

1970 – 191. Tif	18,891,590 bytes (18.9 MB on disk)	TIFF Image	1970	26
1970 – 1-4 JPG	195,865 bytes (197 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	24
1970 – 1.1. JPG	165,855 bytes (168 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	27
1970 – 2.3. JPG	89,331 bytes (90 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	28
1970 – 5. 1. JPG	218,309 bytes (221 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	38
1970 – 7.3. JPG	72,513 bytes (74 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	10
1970 – 8-4. JPG	174,584 bytes (176 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	8
1970 – 5.1. JPG	152,142 bytes (156 KB on disk)	JPEG Image	1970	64

1979 = Photograph taken in 1979. These photographs include scenes depicting women planting manioc and children playing and experimenting with adult's responsibility of cooking meat pies or preparing manioc.

Photograph	Size	Format	Year	Appendix peg
RC 79 – 45- 30. tif	819,188 bytes (819 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1979	51
RC 79 – 45 – 25. Tif	819,246 bytes (823 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1979	50

RC 79 - 63 - 33. Tif	818,914 bytes (819 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1979	60
RC 79 - 54 - 34. Tif	821,834 bytes (823 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1979	59

RC79 – 63- 28. tif	817,998 bytes (819 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1979	67
RC 79 – 63- 29. tif	818,078 bytes (819 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1979	66
RC 79- 63- 30. Tif	817,306 bytes (819 KB on disk)	TIFF Image	1979	67

1993 = Photograph taken in 1993. These photographs include scenes of Canela village and distribution of meat in 1993.

Photograph	Size	Format	Year	Appendix peg
93 – 16 -21. JPEG	5,678,724 bytes (5.7 MB on disk)	JPEG Image	1993	37
93 – 16 – 15. JPEG	4,550,309 bytes (4.6 MB on disk)	JPEG Image	1993	30